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9 January 1985

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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9 January 1985

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ZHIVKOV, CEAUSESCU BUCHAREST DINNER SPEECHES

AU182133 Sofia BTA in English 2106 GMT 18 Dec 84

[Text] Bucharest, 18 December (BTA special correspondent)--Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and Romania's president, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu gave tonight a state dinner in honour of Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and State Council president, who is visiting here at the head of a party and state delegation.

In his speech during the dinner, Mr Nicolae Ceausescu gave high assessment to Romano-Bulgarian relations and emphasised that no efforts should be spared in the future, too, for their steady promotion to a higher level. He stressed that the further upgrading of bilateral relations is in the interest of socialist construction in both countries, of the common cause of socialism, cooperation and peace in the world.

Mr Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that Romania is working actively and is making a tangible contribution to the perfecting of specialisation and cooperation within the CMEA framework. The Romanian party leader and head of state is convinced that the strengthening of cooperation and unity among the socialist countries is a factor of paramount importance for the successful building of the new social order in the socialist community countries, for peace and cooperation in the world.

Mr Nicolae Ceausescu indicated that now that the international situation is experiencing an unprecedented aggravation, it is more imperative than ever for the progressive forces in the world to close up their ranks.

Mr Nicolae Ceausescu welcomed the forthcoming meeting in Geneva between Mr Andrey Gromyko and Mr George Shultz and expressed hopes that it will set the foundations of negotiations to settle the whole range of questions concerning nuclear weapons and outer space militarization.

The Romanian side attaches particular importance to the work of the Stockholm conference, which makes it possible for contacts to be continued and ways and means to be discussed for the implementation of confidence- and security-building measures in the world.

Mr Nicolae Ceausescu declared himself for a steady expansion of bilateral and multilateral cooperation among the Balkan countries, for turning this region into a zone of good-neighbour policy and peaceful cooperation, without nuclear weapons and foreign military bases.



The Romanian leader pointed out that conflicts and disputes between the states should be resolved by peaceful means, through negotiations. He stressed that in international relations such principles should be observed as full equality and non-interference in internal affairs, mutual benefit, non-use of force and threat of force.

The Bulgarian leader Mr Todor Zhivkov expressed satisfaction over the spirit of cordiality and mutual understanding which characterized his meeting today with Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, over the good results of Bulgaro-Romanian cooperation. "We have every reason to be pleased with the development and improvement of our cooperation as a dynamic and purpose-oriented process, extended to all spheres of socio-economic life," he said.

He put high the fruitful relations between the BCP and the Romanian Communist Party, between the two countries, which serve the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community, which are at the service of peace and understanding worldwide.

"Here I cannot fail to emphasise that the whole of mankind, we all are confronted with the cardinal issue of our time: to prevent nuclear war, to rescue our planet earth," said Mr Todor Zhivkov, voicing serious concern over the endeavours of certain imperialist circles in the United States and NATO to disrupt the established military and strategic balance and to attain military superiority."

The Bulgarian leader stressed that the Soviet Union, the brotherly socialist countries have come up with the best, most radical solution: to relieve Europe of nuclear weapons, both medium range and tactical ones. "We are all for constructive and honest talks, based on the principles of parity and equal security," he emphasised.

Mr Todor Zhivkov welcomed the Soviet initiative that the USSR and the United States start a new series of talks on the whole range of questions concerning nuclear and outer space weapons. "This is the latest manifestation of humanism. Of our common concern over the fate of peace, over the destinies of human civilization. It is a tangible indication of the principled line pursued by the fraternal socialist countries in international relations.

"I would like to emphasise it with satisfaction, that all Warsaw Treaty member countries have taken a political decision to extend its term of force," said Mr Todor Zhivkov. "This decision testifies to the consensus of the brotherly countries on the issue of the role and importance of our defensive alliance for the preservation and strengthening of peace, especially in the currently strained international situation."

Dwelling on Bulgaria's policies in the Balkans, on her work for turning the peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, Mr Todor Zhivkov expressed his conviction that Bulgaria and Romania will persist in their friendship and cooperation as these will keep being an important stabilizing factor in this region.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CEAUSESCU, ZHIVKOV VISIT OLT COUNTRY 19 DEC

AU191930 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1919 GMT 19 Dec 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 19 December 1984--Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov toured Olt County on 19 December.

The two party and state leaders were accompanied by Gheorghe Oprea, Stefan Andrei, Silviu Curticeanu, Grisha Filiopov, Petur Mladenov, Dimitur Stanishev as well as by other Romanian and Bulgarian officials.

En route to Slatine, the official motorcade traversed zones of Romania's capital which witness renewing changes. Among these there was the vast housing development area in the south-west of Bucharest, where the House of the Republic, the headquarters of several ministries and central institutions as well as a modern residential district lining the "Victory of Socialism" Boulevard are being built.

In Slatina municipality the first visited unit was the enterprise producing aluminium cast parts and pistons for cars, a modern unit that started producing 3 years ago only. It turns out parts for Romanian city and tout-terrain cars, tractors and lorries. The two leaders assessed that broad possibilities were at hand for the inception of bilateral cooperation ventures in car building.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov then visited the food equipment enterprise which is representative for that compartment of machine building.

Next, the two party and state leaders visited Scornicesti, President Nicolae Ceausescu's native commune. There they visited economic units of the locality--the car parts and subassemblies enterprise, the ready-mades enterprise and the commune's museum. They stopped over at the Romanian president's parents' house.

During the visit, the distinguished guests were warmly greeted, expression of the traditional relations of close friendship and esteem established between the Romanian and Bulgarian peoples.

CSO: 2700/61

SCINTEIA EDITORIAL ON ALBANIA'S NATIONAL DAY

AU021600 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Nov 84 p 5

[Editorial: "The National Holiday of the Albanian People--40 Years Since the Country's Liberation and the Victory of the People's Revolution"]

[Text] On 29 November the Albanian people celebrate the 40th anniversary of the country's liberation and the victory of the people's revolution, an outstanding event which crowned the struggle of the broad masses, headed by communists, against the occupation forces of fascist Italy and Hitlerite Germany and marked an historical turning point in Albania's destiny.

Having become masters of their destiny, the Albanian people, led by the AWP, embarked upon the road of revolutionary changes in various political, socio-economic, and cultural fields and of building the new socialist society.

Since the liberation, the Albanian people, by overcoming hardships caused by the centuries-old economic backwardness, have proceeded to build a national industry based on use of the country's natural resources. Through steady efforts they have been able to capitalize on such assets as oil, gas, pit coal, and chromium, copper, and other mineral ores. The country's industrialization level is illustrated by the increase in the share of such branches as metallurgy, oil, gas, electrical energy, chemistry, and so forth. A most important event was the commissioning several years ago of the Elbasan iron and steel enterprise, which has become a strong asset for the country's industrialization, particularly for developing the machine building industry. This branch, which is equipped with the latest installations, has tripled its production in the last decade; it currently strives to raise the mechanization level of the extractive industry, the construction and other economic sectors. In addition to many thermopower stations built in the years of the people's power, Albania has also built hydropower stations on its main waterfalls, particularly the network of such stations on the Drin River, which has increased the country's production of electrical power.

Obvious changes have also taken place in agriculture, which in the years since liberation has increased its production by more than five times as a result of the policy of mechanization and chemicalization and of continuously expanding the cultivated areas through the improvement of nonproductive fields.

The country's infrastructure has also registered noteworthy changes following the efforts of the working people. Paved roads today crisscross Albania's mountaineous landscape; new railroads today link the Adriatic seashore with many settlements; and the towns and villages of the republic have been modernized. The heavy burden of illiteracy inherited from the past has been eliminated; today Albania has a large network of schools of all grades. The successes scored in the development of economy and agriculture are reflected in the increase in the living standard of peoples in towns and villages.

In the spirit of feelings of friendship nurtured for all peoples building the new system, the Romanian people rejoice in the achievements obtained by the Albanian working people in developing their fatherland. The Romanian and Albanian peoples have established relations of friendship and cooperation throughout history. These relations have developed in the years of people's power on the basis of respect for the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equal rights, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage. Our economic cooperation has also registered a marked evolution. The volume of material exchanges has doubled in the previous 5-year plan and is currently registering significant growth rates, something which is reflected in the provisions of the 1984 Romanian-Albanian trade protocol and in the agreements on expanding and diversifying bilateral economic cooperation.

The development of Romanian-Albanian cooperation undoubtedly serves the interests of both peoples, the strengthening of their friendship, and the cause of peace, socialism, and cooperation in the world.

CSO: 2700/61

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

GDR CULTURAL DAYS MARKED--Bucharest AGERPRES 6 December 1984--The exhibition "Music in the Fine Arts of the GDR," hosted by the Bucharest Museum of the Art Collections, has opened the "Days of GDR Culture." Tamara Dobrin, deputy chairwoman of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education of Romania, and Kurt Löffler, minister secretary of state, the ministry of culture of the GDR, made addresses at the opening, highlighting the fruitful relations of multilateral collaboration and friendship existing between the two countries, and the varied and rich exchange of spiritual assets between them, that are manifest both during the days of Romanian culture in Berlin and in those of the GDR culture in Bucharest, as well as in events organized throughout the year. Devoted to 35th celebration of the GDR foundation, the current edition of the "Days of the GDR Culture" in Romania includes a variety of events in the field of drama, fine arts, pictures and book printing, organized in the capital city and in other towns. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1749 GMT 6 Dec 84 AU]

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ALBANIA

HOXHA RECEIVES MESSAGE FROM PRK LEADERS

AU141023 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Dec 84 p 3

[Message of greetings to Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, from Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the PRK Council of State, and Chan Si, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers]

[Text] Dear Comrades, it is a great pleasure, in the name of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers, the Cambodian people, and personally, to send you and the AWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, and the Albanian people, warm greetings on the occasion of the 72nd anniversary of the proclamation of Independence and the 40th anniversary of the National Day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. We have always followed with great pleasure the successes and great achievements attained by the industrious Albanian people in the construction of socialism under the far-sighted leadership of the AWP.

The Cambodian people express their profound gratitude to the Albanian Party, Government, and people for recognizing the PRK as the legitimate and authentic representative of the Cambodian people, which was once again expressed the Albanian representative at the 39th UN General Assembly session. We consider this to be a valuable support of a historic importance for the PRK, particularly for our people, who are facing the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists collaborating with the American imperialists and other reactionary forces trying to interfere in the domestic affairs of the three countries of Indochina.

We are fully convinced that the friendly relations between our two countries and peoples will continue to strengthen and develop increasingly in the interests of our two peoples, peace, and socialism.

Please accept our special greetings.

CSO: 2100/14

SRV LEADERS GREET ALBANIAN COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL DAY

AU141106 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Dec 84 p 3

[Message to Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers, from Le Duan, general secretary of the Xittee; Truong Chinh, president of the SRV State Council, and Phan Van Dong, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers]

[Text] On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the country's liberation and the triumph of the people's revolution in Albania, we convey to you, and through you to the fraternal Albanian people, the AWP, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, our most cordial congratulations.

The day of Albania's liberation from the yoke of fascism on 29 November 1944 was a great event in the history of the indomitable struggle of the Albanian people for freedom and independence, opening up the era of socialism in the beautiful country of eagles.

During the past 40 years, under the leadership of the AWP led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, developing their glorious revolutionary traditions, and in a spirit of tireless and creative work, the Albanian people have overcome all difficulties have achieved great successes in the cause of building socialism, and have transformed Albania, once poor and backward, into a socialist country with an industry and agriculture that are developing daily, with an advanced science and technology, and with a flourishing national culture, and have constantly improved the material and cultural living standards.

Together with its growth and consolidation, the people's Socialist Republic of Albania has made its contribution in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress in the world.

The Vietnamese people follow with profound feelings the revolutionary cause of the fraternal Albanian people and wish from their hearts that the Albanian people may continue to achieve even greater successes in fulfilling the targets of the Seventh 5-Year Plan approved by the Eighth AWP Congress and in successfully building socialism in Albania.

The Vietnamese people will never forget the cordial sentiments of friendship and the valued support and assistance that the Albanian party, government, and people have given them previously in the cause of the liberation, as well as now in the cause of the construction and defense of the socialist homeland.

We are very happy about the new steps made in the development of the traditional friendship and the relations of fraternal cooperation between our two countries. We will do our utmost to strengthen and develop these relations in an increasingly better way.

May the relations of fraternal friendship and multilateral cooperation between our two parties, peoples, and countries strengthen and develop daily on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

CSO: 2100/14



## HOXHA, ALIA RECEIVE MESSAGE FROM LAO COUNTERPARTS

AU141031 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Dec 84 p 3

[Message to Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, and Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, from Kaysone Phomvihane, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Souphanouvong, president of the Republic of Laos]

[Text] On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in the name of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, the Supreme People's Assembly, the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, the Supreme People's Assembly, the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, the Lao people, and personally, allow us to convey to you our warmest greetings and best wishes, and through you to the AWP, the People's Assembly, the government, and all the Albanian people.

Forty years have elapsed since the communists and the heroic Albanian people, under the leadership of the AWP, achieved a historic victory in completely liberating their homeland, thus opening up the way to building socialism on Albanian soil. During the period of the defense and construction of their homeland, the Albanian people have made all efforts possible to overcome all difficulties and have attained great victories in all fields of social and economic life, continually raising their living standards. At the same time, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has made a worthy contribution in the movement and struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism and the reactionary forces, and for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress.

We benefit from this opportunity to congratulate the Albanian people on their brilliant successes.

Laos and Albania have for a long time maintained relations of friendship and solidarity and have always supported each other, in the past, during the period of struggle against the colonialists and imperialists, as well as at present, in the period of the defense and construction of socialism. We are convinced that in the current international situation, which has become severely complicated owing to the warmongering policy of American imperialism and its allies within NATO, and at a time when the enemies of the socialist

revolution are striving to destroy the latter's victories, the strengthening of the ties of friendship, solidarity, and collaboration between Laos and Albania would correspond with the interests of our two peoples and would contribute to the cause of peace and socialism.

On this occasion, we wish the fraternal Albanian people new and even greater successes in the construction of Albania, making it a strong country, and raising the living standards of the Albanian people daily. May the friendship and solidarity between the two Lao and Albanian parties, governments, and peoples be continually strengthened.

CSO: 2100/14

## AWP PAPER CRITICIZES USSR, WARSAW PACT

AU181233 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 11 December 84 p 4

[Sokol Ghjkoka article: "Meetings to Enforce Moscow's Political and Military Control"]

[Text] A few days ago the Warsaw Pact meeting of the foreign and defense ministers ended. The problems tackled, according to TASS, were the strengthening of "the defense ability" of the Warsaw Pact countries through the increase of the war arsenal in order "to reply to the West's efforts to achieve military superiority." In this meeting, once more the strengthening of the militaristic strategy of the Warsaw Pact was examined and measures were taken to perfect their war machinery still further and to strengthen Moscow's military and political control of the so-called socialist union.

The deepening of the arms race in Europe by the two superpowers and by the blocs that follow them is taking place at a time when the stockpile of nuclear missiles is continuously growing, and when the military forces of the two aggressive pacts are intensifying their war preparations. In their unquenchable rivalry, the two superpowers and the military blocs headed by them are each trying to secure supremacy over the other from a position of strength. This imperialist rivalry in the arms race of the United States and the USSR, is being masked behind the demagoguery of "peace and disarmament." While at their last meeting the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact countries apparently expressed concern at the "continued gravely disturbing and dangerous tensions in Europe," the very same defense ministers were drafting concrete plans to increase their nuclear and conventional weapons, "in order to counter the steady increase of American missiles and conventional weapons in Western Europe." This unrelenting arms race only increases the tension in Europe and brings out the fallacy of the demagogical calls of the two super giants for peace and "security" in Europe and the world.

In addition to strengthening the war machine and increasing the military arsenals, the latest meeting of the Warsaw Pact defense ministers was needed by Moscow to strengthen its hold on its allies. At this meeting the USSR submitted to them the political and military directives that they are to follow in the face of present developments in the world, especially in Europe, and particularly with the intensification of East-West relations. Under these conditions, the USSR is demanding total obedience from its allies and "unanimity" in the execution of decisions drafted in Moscow that are submitted at meetings such as the recent one of the Warsaw Pact ministers.

From a paternalistic position, the USSR tries to direct all the political and military activity of the Warsaw Pact countries and their foreign relations. In this fashion the USSR demands that the Warsaw Pact countries serve only the Soviet Union, that they be its appendages and the marionettes of its political and military plans.

Moscow needed the meetings of the foreign and defense ministers to confirm its position in the international arena as the directing hand of the Eastern bloc vis-a-vis American imperialism and NATO. Moscow is trying to strengthen its position of might, the very same position that American imperialism is trying to strengthen, having held a similar meeting in Brussels for the same purpose, where it demanded that the NATO countries increase their arsenals. Thus, the NATO countries and those of the Warsaw Pact, implement the courses dictated by their great allies, the United States and the Soviet Union. Even in the forthcoming Shultz-Gromyko meeting, irrespective of the allegations that their theses are being discussed by their allies, it is the United States and the Soviet Union that will coordinate their aggressive plans, will dictate the strategic, military and political course of their allies, because this meeting is organized in the context of the bargaining of the two sides at the expense of the peoples and those who follow them.

The last meetings of the Warsaw Pact, as well as those of NATO, make it clear that Moscow and Washington not only are not giving up their war plans but are steadily incorporating in them the military bloc that are under their control.

CSO: 2100/14

AWP PAPER VIEWS NATO 'AGGRESSIVE' STRATEGIES

AU161521 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 7 Dec 84 p 4

[Shkelqim Beqari article: "NATO's New 'Second Striking Force' Strategy, An Aggressive Strategy"]

[Text] A 2-day meeting of the "NATO Defense Planning Committee" was concluded in Brussels the day before yesterday. The meeting was attended by the defense ministers of the United States and its allies. The main theme was the increase in conventional forces and the setting up of the appropriate military infrastructure in Western Europe, for which \$7.8 billion was allocated for the next 6 years. The decisions taken at the meeting were adopted within the framework of the "new war strategy in Europe," approved by NATO, which is based on the massive use of conventional weapons in a possible conflict in Europe.

It must be stressed from the very beginning that this "deep strike strategy" as it is also called, was presented to West Europeans by U.S. General Rogers, who conveyed Washington's instructions for the deployment of a new generation of conventional weapons combined with electronic equipment and radar connected with space vehicles. According to this plan, NATO members must include in their arsenals missile launchers with a range of 40 kilometers, short-range ballistic missiles capable of carrying conventional charges up to a distance of 500 kilometers, small pilotless aircraft similar to "cruise" missiles, and so forth. NATO has also asked its members to adopt measures to improve their infrastructure, such as airports, oil pipelines, equipment and ammunition depots, ports, and communications, and so forth.

This "new" NATO strategy represents a step in advance of the present one, a perfectioning of the structure and of the readiness and mobility of conventional weapons to achieve superiority over those of the Warsaw Pact. The Pentagon has exerted open pressure on its allies for a greater commitment on their part to meet their obligations in the field of conventional weapons. U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger himself has asked the allies to give priority to the utilization of the new conventional technology.

The approval of the new NATO strategy reflects the intensive war preparations made by this imperialist military bloc. It only presages new war clouds over our continent and indicates clearly what dangers are threatening Europe also

from conventional weapons, in addition to nuclear ones. History has proved and is proving that conventional weapons have been and are being used widely by the superpowers and their aggressive blocs as the most efficient way of waging particular local wars. By means of this strategy the United States is seeking to implant its claws deeply in Europe, apportioning tasks between itself and its other allies. This means that NATO plays a particular role in the strategy of imperialist war. The United States gives its West European allies the right to possess these weapons and to use them in case of danger. It also allocates their expenditure quotas and the ways of financing. The NATO allies are thus given the keys to the conventional weapons with which they are to wage wars, they are given the right to burn themselves in the flames of such wars, while the United States holds and commands the buttons of the ultimate, nuclear weapons. Europe is thus placed in the frontline, ready to be sacrificed for imperialist interests, while Washington remains in the background, overlooking and directing the battle operations.

The United States is now more interested than ever in pushing the new NATO strategy, since this is a way of strengthening its military position in Europe. First of all, the conventional weapons, whether missiles, bombs, tanks, aircraft, and so forth, will have to be purchased in the United States, reducing stockpiles at a big profit. Their stocking and maintenance will require new military bases, storage facilities, and so forth, which will be under American supervision. More specialists, experts, and officers will have to be sent over. This will also require an increase in the contingents of American forces in Europe, which now number over 350,000 people. All this means an increase in American military forces in Europe, an increase in American military presence, which is to be accompanied by economic and military pressure. The "second striking force strategy," and other strategies cooked up by the Pentagon clearly reflect the dangerous nature of this military bloc ruled by the United States.

CSO: 2100/14

## AWP PAPER VIEWS ECONOMIC GROWTH POLICY

AU161522 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 7 Dec 84 p 3

[Robert Koli article: "Growing Accumulation in a Growing Economy"]

[Excerpts] During these 40 years of the people's power, Albania has climbed so rapidly on the ladder of socialism that those who do not know and are not experiencing the great reality of our completely new life find all comparisons with the past surprising, perhaps even incredible. Of such magnitude are also the achievements in the field of socialist accumulation, when one takes into consideration the fact that the state budget revenue today from the "Gogo Nushi" Nitrite Ammonium Plant and the "Enver Hoxha" Auto Tractor Combine alone equals the revenues from all the economic enterprises in 1950.

During the fourth 5-year period (1965-70), our economy achieved an average annual accumulation rate of 41.2 percent over and above the figure for the third 5-year period, at a time when, despite the loudly proclaimed economic reform, the revisionist Soviet Union was taking a step backward. The growth rates of our increased socialist accumulation for the years 1979-80 are among the highest experienced in the past 40 years, while the revisionists of all hues are stretching out both hands to take credits from imperialism. The growth rate and dimensions of this particular indicator during the 4 years of the current 5-year period have also been high.

As was stressed at the Ninth AWP Central Committee plenum, this rate of accumulation was not achieved fortuitously or easily. What lies at its foundation has always been and remains the efforts of our new man who, with the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in his mind and heart, has always blazed his way ahead, overcoming the unnumerable obstacles imposed by the imperialist and revisionist enemies. It will be these same efforts and our party's correct and farsighted policies that will secure for our economy a higher rate of accumulation, and for the country a more rapid and larger degree of development.

The maintenance of a relatively high accumulation norm, as the party has made clear, has been and will continue to be not only a correct policy, but also an absolutely objective essential for the present and the future. Without this, it is impossible to conceive and to achieve in practice the great principles of self-reliance and to fulfill the great objectives of the 5-year plans.

Great achievements have also been attained in the correct and highly efficient use of the accumulated assets. In accordance with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and of Comrade Enver Hoxha, over 60 percent of the accumulation fund has been and is being used for capital investments and other production needs. These assets and funds, 85 percent of which is being used for the purpose of new investments and reconstructions, have been directed to the main production branches, and primarily to those producing the means of production. Over 45 percent of the current investment funds are directed to new and existing heavy industry projects, while agriculture, which is considered the basic branch of the economy, is allocated no less than 19 percent of total investments.

All this has been and is being achieved with profound courage and maturity, rejecting all the views and interference of the revisionist and capitalist enemies who, expressing their sorrow that we are "sacrificing" too much, have asked and continue to ask that we develop only those branches producing consumer commodities, from which a greater accumulation can also be achieved.

Time, being the best judge, has vindicated the correctness of our party's stand, which as early as the First 5-Year Plan, worked out and implemented an entire programme of measures, giving priority continually to the development of the mining and energy sectors. Naturally, while giving priority to the heavy industry sector, our country has, nevertheless, not neglected light industry and other branches of the economy. Currently, our multi-branched economy is in a position to reproduce itself entirely and to achieve an additional increase in both production and accumulation. This is a great guarantee that in the future we will progress with sure steps and at an even faster pace.

It is on this development and on these new accumulation resources that we have also based the further and gradual elevation of the well-being of all, meeting primarily the more essential needs, and permitting no privileges for anyone. From this viewpoint, accumulation will continue to be used also in the future primarily to create new production fronts, thus providing the citizens with the opportunity of fully achieving the right to work guaranteed them by the Constitution. As a result of this growing accumulation, retail prices will continue unchanged and, according to possibilities, may even be further reduced, as has continually happened. This growing accumulation will also permit education and medical care without charge and increase the degree of meeting needs from the public consumption fund.

CSO: 2100/14



ALBANIA

HOXHA, ALIA, CARCANI GREET LAO COUNTERPARTS

AU141349 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Dec 84 p 1

[Message to Kaysone Phomvihane, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, and Souphanavong, president of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, from Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers]

[Text] On the occasion of your National Day, the anniversary of the founding of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, in the name of the Albanian people, the AWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, we convey to you and to the Lao people our warm greetings and best wishes.

The Albanian people have followed with sympathy the progress attained by the Lao people in building the country, and wish them continued success on the road of all-round economic and cultural development, as well as in the struggle to defend the country against the attacks of imperialism and reaction.

We express the belief that the friendly relations between our two peoples and countries will develop continually to their mutual benefit and to the benefit of the struggle against imperialism.

CSO: 2100/14

## PEOPLES ASSEMBLY COMMISSIONS REVIEW 1984 RESULTS

AU140814 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 14 Dec 84

[Text] Tirana, 14 December (ATA)--In the framework of preparations for the 6th Session of the 10th Legislature, the permanent Commissions of Foreign Affairs, Trade, Education-Culture and Health-Public Service of People's Assembly were convened these days. They examined the work done for the realisation of the plan and the budget for 1984 and the tasks of the plan and budget for 1985 as well as the other materials to be put forward to the near meeting of the People's Assembly.

In the joint meeting of the Foreign Affairs and Trade Commissions, which was attended by the vice presidents of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrades Rita Marko and Xhafer Spahiu, the deputies listened to the reports of the minister of foreign trade, Comrade Shane Korbeci and the minister of foreign affairs, Comrade Reiz Malile on the work done during this year for the realisations of the targets in the field of foreign trade.

The minister of home trade, Comrade Osman Murati, reported in the Trade Commission. The deputies discussed on the fulfillment of the planned tasks for 1984 and on the figures of the plan of next year.

The Education and Culture Commission listened to the report of the minister of education and culture, Comrade Tefta Cami, on the realisations of the tasks of this year. She dwelt on the improvement of the quality of didactic-educational work as well as on the results achieved in the organisation of the complex studies in the fields of education, pedagogy and psychology.

The Health-Public Service Commission convened, too. In implementation of the tasks of the Eighth Congress of the PLA and in the spirit of the materials of the Ninth Plenum of the CC of the party, the minister of communal [as received] economy, Kudret Arapi reported on the work done for the extension of the public services in the town and countryside, on the radical improvement of the quality, the reduction of the cost of services etc. The minister of health, Ajli Alushani reported on and provided explanations for the work done to extend and raise the level of health service for the people and the tasks for next year. He dwelt in particular on the extension of pharmaceutical service and on the increase of the care for mother and child.

In these meetings, the commissions examined also the draft laws to be presented to the next meeting of the People's Assembly, analysed their annual activity and defined the tasks for 1985.

## JOURNAL ON FOREIGN POLICY ASPECTS

AU181850 Tirana ATA in English 1755 GMT 18 Dec 84

[ATA headline: "The Foreign Policy of the PLA and Our Socialist State is a Policy of Proletarian Principles"--the review PRUGA E PARTISE writes]

[Text] Tirana, 18 December (ATA)--As a socialist state where the power belongs to the people, the PLA has considered the flourishing and prosperity of the homeland, the carrying forward of the revolution and socialism in Albania closely linked with the struggle of the peoples and revolutionary and freedom-loving forces in the world. Therefore, the main tasks of our foreign policy, in the interest of the socialist homeland and the cause of the revolution in the world have been and are indivisible. They derive from the class nature of our proletarian state, the review RRUGA E PARTISE, theoretical and political organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania writes in an article among others.

"Our foreign policy, as the policy of a socialist state, of a truly free society without exploiting classes, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the Eighth Congress of the party is a revolutionary and international policy. It is free from the slightest sign of narrow bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism, national exclusiveness, or of underration of other peoples. The Albanian people have respect for every people and wish all peoples well."

In all its road, our party has applied the principles of proletarian internationalism. It has taken continuous care that our foreign policy be active and serve always the cause of the revolution, the liberation of the peoples and peace in the world, support for all those processes that help the emancipation and progress of the present human society. Therefore, in any case and always socialist Albania has raised its voice and has considered itself on a barricade with the freedom-loving and revolutionary peoples. As a proletarian state of proletarian principles, our socialist country is on the side of the proletariat and of all the oppressed classes in the world that fight against oppression and exploitation, it is against the unbearable burden of crisis that the bourgeoisie shifts over their backs, against fascisation [previous word as received] of the life, against the bourgeois order itself.

The Albanian people aspire to and fights for a genuine peace. A people like ours, hates the war, because over 1.850 villages and townships out of 2.500

all the country had, were raised to the ground in the course of war. It gave 28,000 martyrs for the liberation of the homeland during the war, it is a people who after liberation, started everything from the scratch and from an accentuated backwardness and now they enjoy everything they have built with their sweat and toil, a people who work and prepare a happier future. Our people hates the war and do not want it either for itself or the Balkans, Europe and all the world. The Albanian people oppose powerfully the feverish preparations for the war that U.S. imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and their imperialist blocs are getting ready for the world. Socialist Albania has denounced and boycotted the successive farces on disarmament, security or control of armament organized and hatched up by the superpowers to deceive and disarm the peoples. The illusions of any participant in these demagogical farces are destroyed soon in face of the complete fiasco of all the conferences of the European security in Helsinki, Belgrade, Madrid or in Stockholm now. The rapid deployment of "Cruise," "Pershing" and "SS-20" missiles in a series of West Europe and East European countries is another proof of the correct stand of the PLA. The participants in these meetings became co-authors with the superpowers in this dangerous situation that has been created.

Socialist Albania has never failed to have its say in defence of peace and security. It has exposed the war preparations of the superpowers, their intrigues and plots behind every local and regional conflict, their greed for plunder and dictate. Albania has denounced all the imperialist and neo-colonialist practices of inequality, discrimination, and of the dictate of a big state in the international relations. It has strived to ensure that all the relations among states, be they big or small, be free from any kind of economic, political and military pressure and dictate. It has forcefully raised its voice and has warned the countries and people not to be deceived by the demagogy of the superpowers and the other imperialist powers, not to put themselves under the American or Soviet umbrellas as their way of salvation, to reject their offers for aids and mediation.

Through the course it follows and the political stand it adopts, the socialist Albania sets its example as a country which does not participate in the military blocs and in the imperialist economic organism, which respects and does not interfere in the internal affairs of the countries and peoples. By means of its political line Albania has become today a factor of peace and stability in the Balkans, and not only in the Balkans. No evil or danger has ever come and will come to its neighbours from Albania. At the same time, we have raised our voice and demand that the others, too, should not allow the imperialist and socialist imperialist interference in the Balkans, should not allow the imperialist forces to incite the chauvinist passions and fan the fire as they have traditionally done in the Balkans, turning it into a powder keg.

The dangers in the Balkans, our party stresses, increase especially from the participation of some of its countries in the military and economic blocs of the superpowers, from the existence of the foreign military bases in them, from the permission granted to the American and Soviet fleets to enter and stay in their ports and territorial waters. The dangers to the Balkans and Mediterranean countries are greater than ever. The superpowers have stationed

in this basin a record number of warships, aircraft carriers, and nuclear submarines under the most various pretexts. Albania has long since declared that it has not allowed and does not allow the establishment of foreign bases and troops in its territory. But it demands that the neighbours do the same thing, because the bases and the troops of the superpowers in their countries pose a threat to the other, too. This would be a reliable guarantee for the stability and security in the Balkan. [Sentence as received].

The foreign policy of the party and our socialist state, RRUGA E PARTISE writes in conclusion, has found understanding and respect among all the honest and freedom loving people in the world. This sincere and principled policy, in defence of the interests of socialist in the country and of the cause of revolution in the world, has made the word and deed of Albania have a wide echo everywhere.

CSO: 2020/38

ATA CALLS STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE 'FIASCO'

AU171416 Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 17 Dec 84

[ATA headline: "Four Abortive Sessions in an Abortive Conference--Complete 'Fiasco' of the U.S.-Soviet diplomacy in the Stockholm Conference"]

[Text] Tirana, 17 December (ATA)--The fourth session of the so-called conference on disarmament in Europe was over. It is registered in the chronicle of this conference as the fourth fruitless session after a year of "work" and for which the agenda was not yet fixed.

In reality, this conference was a place of bargaining between the United States and the Soviet Union, the blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty on various problems of military and political character. It manifested this characteristic especially after the bilateral American-Soviet bargains on Euromissiles and strategic weapons.

The American-Soviet diplomacy seeks to cover up its failure with the clamour and "optimism" on the "blessings" of this conference during the next year, which according to it, "will bring about concrete results." Everything is made to hide out the falsity of the real policy of armament that the United States and the Soviet Union are pursuing in Europe. While successive sessions were being held in Stockholm during this year, the two superpowers continued the realisation of the programs of Euromissiles in Western and Eastern Europe where "Pershing," "Cruise" and "SS" missiles of the Americans and the Soviets were increasing from day to day.

The Stockholm Conference showed its real character as a meeting organized by the two superpowers for the interest of their hegemonistic and expansionist policy in the European Continent. This conference is a continuation of the former conferences of Helsinki and Madrid, thus a continuation of the farces and plots so common for the superpowers now. Their slogan on "European security" is nothing else [but] insecurity for Europe. It is used by the U.S. imperialist and the Soviet social-imperialists to camouflage their feverish armament race in Europe, the increase of the military budgets and the preparations for wars and aggressions of the two aggressive blocs manipulated by them.

The abortive sessions of the abortive conference, organized by the United States and the Soviet Union show that the public opinion should not cherish any illusion about the meetings of such a nature, because they serve both superpowers for hegemony and domination.

ATA CITES GREEK PRESS INTERVIEW BY OFFICIAL

AU141206 Tirana ATA in English 0925 GMT 14 Dec 84

[ATA headline: "I Would Like To Go In Albania Again--The Alternate Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece, Karolos Papoulias Declares"]

[Text] Tirana, 14 December (ATA)--The Greek newspaper Tanea of 9 December 1984, under the title: Karolos Papoulias: I Would Like To Go In Albania Again, carried the interview of the alternate minister of foreign affairs of Greece after his return home from his visit to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Prior to the interview, the editorial board of the newspaper makes this comment on the visit:

With impressions full of valuable vivid and true-to-life views, most of which from the meetings in the Greek minority, the first minister of foreign affairs who has visited Albania returned to Greece on Thursday.

The present Deputy of Ioannina and Foreign Minister K. Papoulias, whose origin is from Pogon, [in Albania] since the beginning gave a symbolic meaning to this visit which opens the way to the friendship and cooperation with the neighbouring country.

In his interview, the minister declared: I left Pogon. In an emotional atmosphere I was seen off by the mayors, the chairmen of the communes and the people of the region. The moment when I passed the border point of Kakavija, a natural gate between Greece and Albania, which has been closed since 1945, was very significant. This point will be opened beginning from next January and together with it that of Kristallopigji (Kapshtica). Our first stop and the greatest first sensation was Gjirokaster, which together with Berat are declared museum-cities. It is unbelievable the way Albanians protect them, which, without exaggeration, are the best thing I have seen.

On the way to Tirana we passed through Fier, industrial center of Albania. There I experienced another sensation: my friend of childhood, Fuat Boci, today a great actor of Albania, I had not seen him for many years. But with him and in all the villages of the Greek minority I found myself again amidst scores of my schoolmates who are now renowned scientists, professors artists and chairmen of cooperatives who make their important contribution to the social and cultural life of the country.

The climax of my visit was when we climbed the height of 731 meters [site of wartime battle between Greeks, Italians] and the homages we paid there. We could not hold the tears. Only when you see the topography of the terrain, the high impassable and rocky mountains which hide the sun since 2 o'clock in the afternoon, you realize the greatness of our war against fascism.

Today too, the region where our 1,500 fighters fell and 2,500 others were wounded is full of cartridge cases, helmets with bullet holes. We and the Albanian veterans of war placed wreaths. The old trenches could still be recognized.

While returning we followed the same way. The vice-chairman of the district, who was from the Greek minority was waiting for us. The sector of the Greek language in the pedagogical institute of the city trains teachers who teach the children in the Greek language where the children, then, become teachers.

The last words of K. Papoulias in his interview, were: I would like to go to Albania again.

Nearly the same part of the interview was published by other Greek newspapers.

On 7 December the Greek newspaper ELEFTHEROTYPIA carried the writing entitled: K. Papoulias Handed the Message of Andreas to the Albanian Prime Minister. It says:

The message of A. Papandreou addressed to the Albanian Prime Minister Adil Carcani was handed by the alternate Foreign Minister Mr Papoulias. It stresses the indispensability of the extension of the Greek-Albanian relations in the spirit of friendship and understanding among the peoples of the Balkans. Mr Papoulias made this statement to the EPIRUS journalists yesterday at noon, in Ioannina right after his return from the Albanian capital.

During this trip, Mr Papoulias, said, I met with many old friends of mine, with whom I had studied at Vokshtina. Now they are skilled cadres holding important state posts, such as teachers, doctors, scientific working people etc.

In Dervican we watched a concert given by the cooperativists, in the course of which young men and women danced and sang in our language for 2 hours. This event is positive, Mr Papoulias stressed, also due to the fact that 40 years have passed by since war and the Greek language continues to be cultivated.

Mr Papoulias declared that governments opinion is that it will adopt concrete stands also towards the abolition of the law on the state of war.

In its writing under the title the visit of Papoulias to Albania was positive, the other Greek newspaper IMERISSIA carried on 7 December 1984 the statement made by the minister to the journalists, in which he stresses among others: my visit to Albania was positive from all sides and successful from political aspect. Further on the newspaper points out that Mr Papoulias, who returned yesterday from the neighbouring country, said that five agreements covering scientific cooperation, road transport, telecommunications, post, cultural exchanges were signed.



## ATA SEES SUPERPOWERS DECEPTION OF PEOPLE

AU151545 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 15 Dec 84

[Text] Tirana, 15 December (ATA)--Both Washington and Moscow are speaking too much recently on the "readiness" of the two superpowers to continue the dialogue, to hold new talks on weapons, to cooperate more closely for the "destinies" of mankind. Following the successive statements and interviews by Reagan and Chernenko, following the mutual messages through different channels, the meeting to be held at the beginning of the coming year between the chiefs of the U.S. and Soviet diplomacy, Shultz-Gromyko, is being publicized too much at present, so the imperialist-revisionist propaganda is making haste to spread new illusions to deceive the international public opinion. Everything is done according to the known rules of the old game of the superpowers: to carry further the armament race and the militarist policy, by coordinating the attempts to deceive the peoples' striking even compromises and agreements to the mutual inter-imperialist interest.

The Soviet Official, Primakov, declared recently that Moscow will hold "constructive talks" with Washington. According to his words, the Kremlin attaches "special importance" to the coming meeting in Geneva between the U.S. Secretary of State Shultz and the Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, particularly concerning the bargains on the militarization of space and the deployment of middle range nuclear missiles in Europe.

Recently the U.S. officials reported that one-fifth of 572 U.S. "Cruise" and "Pershing" missiles has been deployed in the territory of some West European countries. On its part, the Soviet Union has deployed about 110 new "SS 21" and "SS 22" missiles in some East European countries, at a time when it has begun to realize the greatest program of the construction of the bases for "SS 20" missiles, of which more than 380 have been deployed in Eastern Europe. This situation has brought more to the fore the true nature of the two superpowers and the great danger they pose to peace and security in Europe and in the world.

It is for this reason that Washington and Moscow have to make new efforts to make the public opinion cherish the old illusions that peace and security in Europe may be attained through the collaboration and dialogue between the two superpowers, that is through "the preservation of the equilibrium of the power."

ALBANIA

AGRICULTURE, COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSIONS CONVENE

AU161431 Tirana ATA in English 0735 GMT 16 Dec 84

[Text] Tirana, 16 December (ATA)--The permanent Commissions of Agriculture and Construction, Communication and Post Telecommunication convened recently. They analysed the achievements in the work to implement the laws on the plan and budget for 1984 and examined the figures of the plan and budget for 1985.

The Commission of Agriculture listened to the report and explanations given by the Minister of Agriculture Comrade Themie Thomai.

The Minister of Construction Comrade Farudin Hoxha, the Minister of Communication Comrade Luan Babemeto and the General Director of Post Telecommunication Comrade Periklii Pani reported at the meeting of the Permanent Commission of Construction-Communication and Post-Telecommunication. [Sentence as received] Attending was also the Vice-President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Comrade Rita Marko. They dwelt on the most important problems of the sectors they are responsible of. The report by the minister of construction laid the stress on the measures to be taken to further reduce the cost and to conclude in time the productive projects, etc. [Sentence as received]

At these meetings, the two commissions examined the draft laws to be represented to the sixth session of the People's Assembly, analysed in a critical spirit their activity of 1984 and approved the tasks for 1985.

CSO: 2020/38

## BRIEFS

NATIONAL DAY GREETINGS--On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in the name of the Presidency of the SFRY, I convey to you greetings and best wishes for the well-being of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. At the same time, I would like to stress the importance that Yugoslavia attaches to the relations and cooperation with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which are based on loyalty to the principles of good-neighborliness and mutual interest.

[Message to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, from Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Presidency of the SFRY] [Text] [Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Dec 84 p 3 AU]

CONGRATULATIONS FROM CASTRO--On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation and the people's victory over Hitlerite fascism, in the name of the people, the Council of State, and the Government of the Republic of Cuba, it is my pleasure to convey to you our cordial greetings, and I avail myself of this opportunity to convey to the Albanian people our best wishes for well-being and prosperity. [Message to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers, from Fidel Castro Ruz, chairman of the Council of State and Government of the Republic of Cuba] [Text] [Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Dec 84 AU]

GREETINGS FROM ITALY--On the occasion of your National Day, which assumes particular importance this year, it is my pleasure to formulate, also in the name of the Italian people, sincere wishes for the prosperity of the Albanian people and Your Excellency's well-being, in the spirit of the increasingly more intensive relations between our two countries, which I desire may experience growing development. [Message to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, from Sandro Pertini, president of the Italian Republic] [Text] [Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Dec 84 p 3]

GREETINGS FROM TURKEY--On the occasion of the National Day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in the name of the Turkish nation, as well as personally, I would like to convey to Your Excellency most sincere congratulations and best wishes for your health and personal happiness, and express the conviction that the amicable relations between Turkey and Albania will continue to develop in the mutual interest of our countries in the future. [Message to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, from Kemal Evren, president of the Republic of Turkey] [Text] [Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Dec 84 p 3 AU]

MESSAGE FROM CUBA'S BRAVO--On the occasion of 29 November, the 40th anniversary of the people's victory over fascism, the National Day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, allow me to send you congratulations in the name of the National Assembly of the People's Power of the Republic of Cuba. We would like relations in the parliamentary field to develop in order to serve the climate of peace and international security in favor of mankind. I formulate best wishes for success in the work and lofty mission entrusted you and for your personal happiness. [Message to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, from Flavio Bravo Pardo, president of the National Assembly of the People's Power of the Republic of Cuba] [Text] [Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Dec 84 p 3 AU]

MONGOLIA GREETES ALBANIA--On the National Day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the 40th anniversary of Albania's liberation from fascism, we send the Albanian people our warm greetings for their prosperity and development. [Message to the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania from the Great Hural and the Council of Minyngys Republic of Mongolia] [Text] [Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Dec 84 p 3 AU]

GREETINGS FROM IRANIAN PRESIDENT--Excellency, it is my pleasure to congratulate you and the people of Albania on the occasion of the liberation anniversary of the Albanian people and their victory over the aggressive forces. I hope that existing relations will deepen further and that the two countries will attach importance to their common views on questions of international policy. I pray to the Almighty for the prosperity and well-being of the Albanian people. [Message to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, from Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran] [Text] [Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Dec 84 p 3 AU]

MESSAGE FROM SFRY'S PLANINC--On the occasion of the National Day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in the name of the FEC, I convey to you greetings and wishes for the good of the people of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. [Message to Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, from Milka Planinc, President of the FEC of Yugoslavia] [Text] [Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Dec 84 p 3 AU]

GREETINGS FROM NICARAGUA'S ORTEGA--On the occasion of the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, we send you our most cordial greetings. The people of Nicaragua join in your joy and give their best wishes for the prosperity and development of the fraternal Albanian people. Fraternal sentiments. [Message to Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, from Daniel Ortega Saavedra, commander of the revolution and chairman of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua] [Text] [Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 9 Dec 84 p 4 AU]

MESSAGE FROM PLO LEADER--In the name of the Palestinian people, my colleagues on the PLO Executive Committee, and personally, it is my honor to congratulate Your Excellency on the occasion of the National Day of your friendly

country. Rejoicing together with you in the celebration of your National Day, the Palestinian people and their legitimate representative, the PLO avail themselves of the opportunity to express to your country their profound gratitude for its stand in support of the PLO and of our people's struggle against imperialism and Zionism. We confirm the determination of the PLO to Consolidate the friendship and cooperation between our two friendly peoples. Please accept my best wishes for your Excellency's health and happiness and for the further progress and prosperity of your friendly people. [Message to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, from Yasir 'Arafat, president of the PLO Executive Committee] [Text] [Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 9 Dec 84 p 4 AU]

ALBANIA, GREECE EXPAND COOPERATION--Athens, 17 December (TANJUG)--The Greek Government, satisfied with the results of a recent visit by its Deputy Foreign Minister Karlos Papullas to Tirana, has decided to expand its cooperation with Albania next year. According to the pro-government periodical VIMA, Greece and Albania have started to implement recently concluded agreements on road and PTT [post, telephone and telegraph] traffic and scientific-technical and cultural cooperation. Contrary to the government's satisfaction over the outcome of the talks in Tirana, Greece's leading right New Democracy opposition party is "embittered" over the content of the communique on the deputy minister's visit. The New Democracy leadership reproaches the government because its representative in Tirana did not raise the question of the social and political position of the Greek minority in Albania, which it claims is deprived of its rights. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1906 GMT 18 Dec 84 LD]

CSO: 2020/38

ARMY DAILY ON NEED TO MAINTAIN HIGH VIGILANCE

AU281733 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 Dec 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Constant and High Vigilance"]

[Excerpts] We are living at a time when the pathological anticommunism of imperialism's most reactionary forces is being transformed into a "crusade" for forcibly liquidating socialism as a social system.

Simultaneously with the military preparations, the aggressive imperialist forces are sharply increasing their ideological diversion and "psychological war," subversive activity, and the attempts to erode socialism from within. Recently our country and army have become a special target of political and state organs and of the secret and special services of various capitalist countries. The decisions of the U.S. Congress to limit trade with Bulgaria, the "Antonov Case," which has been fabricated by the secret intelligence services, and the intensified attempts to penetrate our military objects and photograph them, as well as to collect data on the location and moral-political state of separate units, testify to this. Such and other phenomena show the topicality of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's words on the need to maintain high political and military vigilance and be an example of constant organization and labor and of strict and uncompromising application of the charters, decrees, and regulations in the troops' everyday life. Only such units, in which a regiment of strict regulation has been created, in which combat training activity is being implemented according to the plans and programs, and in which the officials and day and night duty details are implementing their duties with a high sense of responsibility and the soldiers have been trained how to behave when they are on leave, allow no leaking of state and military secrets or a decrease in vigilance. And vigilance is an important precondition of high combat readiness of the troops and of successful and worthy implementation of the sacred and sworn duty of the commanders and the soldiers--the defense of the motherland's peace life.

In some units, however, such as those in which officers Pantev and Ivanov are serving, issues of vigilance have not been sufficiently valued, and the attitude toward solving these issues has not been in accordance with the high criteria of the 12th BCP Congress and especially the national party conference on matters of quality. In these units the advance preparation of the officials and of the day and night duty details are insufficient. The inner order in the

depots and the conduct of depot duty do not fully correspond with the requirements of the charters and regulations. The situation of the storehouses and the storage spaces is similar. Very frequently the control is merely perfunctory. These weaknesses and shortcomings are a result of insufficient knowledge of the regulations and lack of habits and skill in the soldiers to strictly observe regulations.

CSO: 2200/80

## 'NO GROUNDS FOR OPTIMISM' IN GENEVA TALKS

AU241032 Sofia BTA in English 0834 GMT 24 Dec 84

[Text] Sofia, 24 Dec (BTA)--"With the stands of high-ranking officials in Washington and especially with the practical steps towards rearmament, there are no grounds for optimism on the eve of the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Geneva. The two countries are still miles apart in their positions," writes the commentator of NARODNA ARMIYA Mr Anastas Anastasov in today's issue of the paper.

In an article titled "The Geneva Meeting: Different Approaches" the author emphasises that so far reports from Washington have made it clear that the U.S. has not yet worked out a definitive and solid stand. At the same time, the Soviet Union has given explicit indications that at the forthcoming talks it will seek a quantitative and qualitative freeze on nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union has declared itself for the prevention of outer space militarization.

"Approximate parity is the only condition under which Moscow is prepared and has been always prepared for talks, given the negotiating party is serious in its intentions to reach mutually acceptable results. It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty member countries have repeatedly declared they will never tolerate anybody to talk to them from a position of strength," Mr Anastasov writes.

The author stresses that Washington's plans for outer space militarization do not only pose a tangible threat to the multilateral and bilateral agreements on the protection of outer space, reached so far, but they are time bombs planted in the foundations of a future round of talks between the USSR and the U.S. on this issue.

In the POGLED weekly commentator Encho Gospodinov observes in connection with forthcoming meetings in Geneva that positive results can be expected only if Washington proves ready to walk its share of the common road to peace, proposed by Moscow. The author assesses the visit to London [word indistinct] at the Palace of Westminster as part of the consistent peaceloving foreign policy pursued by the CPSU and by the Soviet State.



"Mr Gorbachev has called on his hosts to look forward and not to go back to the problems of the past, to seek what is of common interest to both the East and the West and not what draws them apart. For, despite all boundaries, today, in the nuclear arms age, not only Europe but the whole is indivisible," writes the POGLED commentator.

CSO: 2200/80

GOVERNMENT DISCUSSES CRITICISM, MASS MEDIA

AU251948 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Dec 84

[Text] A meeting of the Council of Ministers with the participation of the chairman of the executive committees of the okrug people's councils took place on 25 December. The participants discussed criticism in the mass media and the attitude of the state and economic organs and organizations toward that criticism. It was stressed that the work in critical publications as well as the entire joint activity of the state and economic organizations with the press, radio and television is improving. Simultaneously the attention of some organizations and leaders was drawn to the fact that they have shown a formalistic attitude toward criticism and have failed to react to it promptly.

The government charged the ministries, other departments, and the executive committees of the people's councils to adopt measures on further improving and perfecting work with criticism as a major means of improving the effectiveness of all organs.

The Council of Ministers also adopted a decree and measures on developing the material-technological basis of television and radio until 1990. The decree envisages the construction of many new installations, equipping them with modern studio and transmission equipment, and improving radio and television signals.

A decree on further improving the effectiveness of environmental protection measures was also adopted. It solves many important problems related to constructing purifying devices in industry, the struggle against erosion, and decreasing air pollution. Special attention has been devoted to Sofia's ecological problems.

The Council of Ministers has adopted a decree on the work of workers and employees during their leisure time and the work of citizens who are not engaged in social production.

The government also dealt with other matters.

CSO: 2200/80

BCP CC TELEGRAM TO BOLIVIAN CP CONGRESS

AU172019 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Dec 84 pp 1, 6

[Text] The BCP Central Committee has sent the following telegram to the Fifth Congress of the Bolivian Communist Party:

Dear comrades,

The BCP Central Committee conveys ardent, comradely greetings to the Fifth Congress of the Bolivian Communist Party delegates and wishes them successful and fruitful work.

Within the relatively short period of its existence the fraternal party of the Bolivian communists, with its selfless struggle in defending the vital interests of the working people against imperialism and reaction, as well as for an independent development of Bolivia along the path of democracy and progress, asserted itself as a realistic and authoritative force in the country's socio-political life.

Your congress, dear comrades, is taking place under the circumstances of an extremely complicated and tense international situation. By declaring a "crusade" against the socialist countries and against the entire revolutionary and liberation movement, North American imperialism and its allies are trying to impose a policy of super-rearmament and confrontation, thus pushing mankind toward the abyss of nuclear disaster.

In this complicated and dangerous situation all progressive, democratic, patriotic, and peaceloving forces in the world are facing, above all, the major problem of our time--the rescue of mankind from the horrors of a thermonuclear war. Under these circumstances the consolidation of international solidarity among the revolutionary forces, as well as the fraternal unity of action of communists from all countries are assuming tremendous importance.

I am expressing my conviction that the decisions of your party's Fifth Congress will contribute to its further consolidation, as well as to the defense and intensification of the working people's democratic achievements, to the mobilization of the efforts of all communists in the struggle against imperialism and the international monopolies, for peace and socialism.

We are convinced that the relations of friendship existing between the BCP and the Bolivian Communist Party will continue to develop on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Long live the Bolivian Communist Party!

CSO: 2200/80

BALEV PRESENTS CHERNENKO WORKS TO SOVIET AMBASSADOR

AU191916 Sofia BTA in English 1809 GMT 19 Dec 84

[Text] Sofia, 19 Dec (BTA)--Mr Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP said here today that the experience of the Soviet Union in the construction of socialism is of great value to all peoples who have started on the road to the construction of the new society, to all communist parties which have taken up their responsibilities in the construction of the new world and to all peoples throughout the world striving to embark on the road to socialism under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist parties. Mr Milko Balev said that at the ceremony of handing over to the Soviet Ambassador to Bulgaria Mr Leonid Grekov the presentation copies of a recently issued in Bulgaria collection of selected speeches and articles by Mr Konstantin Chernenko, secretary general of the CC of the CPSU and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR. The book is entitled "The People and the Party Are One."

Mr Milko Balev pointed out that the book is a brilliant example of the fusion of the impressive traditions of the party of Lenin--invaluable for the international communist and workers' movement--of revolutionary innovation and of the creative and principled approach to the problems in the construction of advanced socialist society, to the new processes and phenomena in the international situation.

The book includes works written in the period between 1976 and October 1984.

CSO: 2200/80

**BULGARIA**

**ZHIVKOV CONGRATULATES MBR'S BATMONH ON APPOINTMENT**

AU172024 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Dec 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, has sent the following telegram to Jambyn Batmonh, secretary general of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the People's Great Hural Presidium of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR]:

Dearest Comrade Batmonh,

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee and the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on behalf of the Bulgarian people, and on my own behalf I most sincerely congratulate you on the occasion of your election to the post of Chairman of the Great People's Hural Presidium of the MPR.

Your election to the highest state position is a recognition of the qualities of a consistent Marxist-Leninist and an inspired builder of new, socialist Mongolia, of an ardent fighter for the cause of peace and understanding among the peoples.

The communists and working people in our country are deeply convinced that friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the MPRP, between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the MPR, will in the future also continue to strengthen and be intensified on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. I am glad that in the noble struggle for socialism and peace the Bulgarian and Mongolian peoples are marching side by side with the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, headed by the great Soviet Union.

I wish you with all my heart, dearest Comrade Batmonh, much health, creative energies, and new achievements in your high responsible work for the implementation of the instructions of the 28th MPRP Congress into living deeds, for the well-being of the Mongolian people, for the cause of peace and socialism.

CSO: 2200/80

## BULGARIA

### LEADERS' APPEARANCES 16-22 DECEMBER

AU222206 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian, in its broadcasts from 16 to 22 December, notes the following appearances of Bulgarian leaders (time and date of broadcasts noted in parentheses):

Todor Bozhinov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of energy and raw materials resources, chaired a session of the ministry's staff in Sofia (2000 GMT 17 December). Bozhinov is also reported to have attended a conference of the Ministry of Energy and Raw Material Resources' staff with the okrug party committee in Pazardzhik (1830 GMT 20 December).

Chudomir Aleksandrov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Georgi Atanasov, Politburo candidate member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee; Stanish Bonev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the State Planning Committee; and Kiril Zarev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee; attended a worker's dresses exhibition in Sofia and later joined Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, at a Sofia meeting of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council on Workers' Dresses (1830 GMT 18 December). Georgi Atanasov is reported to have attended a session of the committee assessing the results of the sixth field day festival in Sofia, together with Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Committee for Culture, and with Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee (1830 GMT 19 December).

Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, attended a Sofia conference on the development of the city of Veliko Turnovo (2030 GMT 18 December).

Stanko Todorov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the National Assembly, attended a session of the National Assembly Permanent Committee on Social Policy held in Sofia (1830 GMT 20 December).

Yordan Yotov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, attended a celebration in Stara Zagora marking the 60th birthday of writer Pavel Matev (1830 GMT 21 December).

## PIECEWORK SYSTEM IN SLIVEN OKRUG DISCUSSED

AU201659 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 19 December 1984 carries on page 5 a 4,000-word unattributed report, "Assertion of Successes" devoted to the introduction of the piecework system in agriculture. The report is preceded by the following introductory passage:

"Among the okrugs which have accumulated the greatest experience in introducing the piecework system in agriculture the Sliven Okrug is one of the leading okrugs. During the discussions organized this spring by the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO we already reported on achievements in this sector. According to the local cadres, which are the new elements added to the past experience this year, concerning the place and role of piecework, and are the conclusions hitherto made being confirmed as regards the great potential of this system? What are the intentions regarding its further development?--These were the questions to which the round table discussion, organized in Sliven at the initiative of the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO, was devoted. The discussion was attended by the following persons: Ivan Avramov, secretary of the BCP Okrug Committee; Vladislav Nikolchev, deputy chairman of the Okrug Agro-Industrial Council; Yordan Uzunov, chairman of the Agro-Industrial Complex in Sliven; Ivan Dragiev, chairman of the Agro-Industrial Complex in Kremen; Nikola Kirov, deputy chairman of the "P. Enev" Agro-Industrial Complex in Nova Zagora; as well as Georgi Mitkov, agronomist and technologist in the Topalchane Village (belonging to the Aliven Agro-Industrial Complex); and Andrey Kadirev, a teacher from the Sliven Elementary School, who has been cultivating tomatoes using the piecework system for as long as three years in the Topolchane Village Complex.

"We are reporting in a concise form the experience shared with these officials, together with their statements and recommendations made during the discussion."

There follow several statements by the aforementioned personalities on their experience in the piecework system dealing mostly with small groups of agricultural workers composed of pensioners, who are engaged in growing vegetables on a small scale. Mostly positive experience is mentioned in this sector, such as the fact that vegetable growing results have greatly increased thanks to the introduction of the piecework system. Agronomist Georgi Mitkov states that "what seemed unthinkable a few years ago is now a fact" speaking of 750 tons of tomatoes prepared for export in Topolchane Village, as compared to 600 tons envisaged by the plan.



After pointing out further successes in the introduction of piecework the participants in the discussion point out that: "There are also problems which the agricultural leaders and specialists are concerned about." Some of these problems are connected with shortage of irrigation equipment and other shortcomings. V. Nikolchev, deputy chairman of the Okrug Agro-Industrial Council, states: "As a result of piecework we are obtaining two- and three-times greater yields. According to the planning methods everything became obligatory--the production as well as the plots. We should tell what and how much we will produce, and every complex must take into consideration the question of which plots to produce. Otherwise we obtain excessive production and we have problems with selling it. We must also improve the material-technical supplies. When you work according to the piecework system and come across other interests you must be able to give the people the best and most efficient equipment."

After stressing the great responsibilities for the agro-industrial complexes leaderships in connection with the introduction of the piecework system, the report closes with the following remark: "There is no doubt that the achievements of Sliven Okrug in connection with the introduction of the piecework system are really great. This, however, does not obviate the question "How do we proceed further?" In this respect we can accept the statement made by Ivan Avramnov, secretary of the Sliven BCP Okrug Committee as a promise and as a pledge for more energetic actions in the future. He states as follows: 'This system certainly has many assets. It is true that we must apply it carefully, but it is also true that we must think more quickly and act more promptly in applying this system. Even at the risk of losing in some respects, we must introduce the piecework system, since the requirements of the markets are growing and this is a factor that should not be neglected.'"

CSO: 2200/80

BULGARIA

LEADERS ATTEND 'BANNER OF PEACE' JOINT MEETING

AU211505 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 21 Dec 84

[Excerpt] A joint meeting of the Committee of Culture, the Dimitrov Komsomol Central Committee, and the High Educational Council attached to the Ministry of National Education, was held at the Lyudmila Zhivkova Palace of Culture this morning to discuss the further development of the "Banner of Peace" movement. The comrades Milko Balev, Yordan Yotov, Georgi Atanasov, Stoyan Mihaylov, as well as Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council, and Aleksandur Fol, minister of national education, attended the meeting. Stanka Shopova, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee also participated in the meeting. Georgi Yordanov, chairman of the Committee of Culture, opened the meeting. Vladimir Zhivkov, deputy chairman of the Committee of Culture and chief director of the "Banner of Peace" center spoke on the importance of the "Banner of Peace Movement" and on its contributions to the comprehensive cultural development of socialist Bulgaria.

CSO: 2200/80

BULGARIA

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FOREIGN POLICY MEETING

AU212007 Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 21 Dec 84

[Text] Sofia, 21 Dec (BTA)--The Commission for Foreign Policy of the National Assembly gave a high assessment to the activities of the Bulgarian Interparliamentary Group in 1984 which actively contributed to the realization of the peaceful foreign policy of Bulgaria.

At today's session the Commission expressed support for the constructive resolutions adopted by the Interparliamentary Union related to the progress in the disarmament talks, to the equality of men and women, to the abolishment of colonialism and above all the stopping of the illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African Republic, to the demographic problems in the context of the difficulties related to resources and development and to the threat to peace posed by the Middle East, the crisis in Central America.

The Bulgarian parliamentarists expressed their readiness to contribute to the further efforts of the interparliamentary union directed towards improving the international climate, curbing and stopping the arms race and promoting peaceful and mutually advantageous cooperation among all countries and peoples.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on w1 December carries an abridged version of the preceding item, adding that Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, as well as Petur Vutov, head of the Bulgarian interparliamentarian group, and Petur Tanchev, chairman of the National Assembly Foreign Affairs Commission, attended the meeting.]

CSO: 2200/80

## DYULGEROV TALKS WITH SPANISH TU DELEGATION

## Talks With Spanish TU Delegation

AU221945 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 22 Dec 84

[Text] Sofia, 22 Dec (BTA)--At today's talks held here between Mr Petur Dyulgerov, president of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, and Sr Nicolas Redondo, [spelling as received] secretary general of the General Union of Spanish Workers (UGT), they voiced serious concern over mounting world tensions. They arrived at the conclusion that the arms race is a heavy burden for the peoples and especially for the working people. In this connection, the delegations of the two trade union centres expressed their preparedness to contribute to curbing the arms race and to the vindication of peace.

The conviction was expressed that the acquaintance of working people from different countries with themselves and with their problems is a tangible tribute to building confidence and understanding in Europe and worldwide. The Bulgarian Trade Unions and the UGT emphasised their readiness for an active promotion of their relations.

During the talks the two delegations discussed some topical questions of labour cooperation and the role of trade unions as mass working people organizations for the consolidation of detente, peace and understanding among the peoples.

The cooperation plan that was adopted envisages an exchange of information and conducting of consultations on questions of mutual interest.

"We are pleased at our first visit to Bulgaria," Sr Nicolas Redondo stressed before a BTA reporter. "It was quite indispensable for the mutual acquaintance of the two trade unions and will aid in the basis of our future cooperation. Our stay in Bulgaria was fruitful," he said.

Mr Petur Dyulgerov emphasised in turn that the visit of the delegation of the General Union of Spanish Workers set the beginning of bilateral cooperation. "I think there are good opportunities opening up for the (?vigorous promotion) of our contacts," Mr Petur Dyulgerov pointed out.

## Further Bulgarian, Spanish TU Talks

AU211508 Sofia BTA in English 1332 GMT 21 Dec 84

[Text] Sofia, 21 Dec (BTA)--Despite certain differences in the political affiliation and the different international organisations they belong to, the Bulgarian Trade Unions and the General Union of Spanish Workers (UGT) expressed here today preparedness for joint action in the struggle for peace and against the arms race. That common opinion was voiced by Mr Petur Dyulgerov, president of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, and by Mr Nicoilas Redondo Urbieta [spelling as received], secretary-general of the General Union of Spanish Workers, who is visiting here at the head of a UGT delegation.

The two trade union leaders expressed their desire to work for the expansion of bilateral contacts.

The participants in the talk briefed each other on the tasks which the two trade unions are carrying out at present.

The talks that opened are the first official contact between the two trade union centres.

CSO: 2200/80

BULGARIA

BTA REPORTS ON AGCA'S DEMAND FOR PARDON

AU181644 Sofia BTA in English 1153 GMT 18 Dec 84

[Text] Rome, 18 Dec (BTA)--Mehmet Ali Agca spoke out and reminded that it was high time for him to receive his remuneration for the job done, and publicly demanded to be pardoned "for humane considerations."

The Catholic SABBATO weekly published excerpts of an interview given by the professional killer on 12 December in his cell in the Rebibbia prison to a SABBATO journalist.

"I have collaborated with the Italian judiciary without laying down prior conditions, without wanting anything," Agca proclaims. "I did not want anything from Pope John Paul the Second during our meeting either, now I want the Italian state to pardon me for humane considerations."

The weekly recollects that the president of the Italian Republic can use his right to pardon under Article 87 of the Constitution, if the affected person--Pope John Paul the Second in this particular case--has forgiven his assailant, something which the pope did already on 27 December last year, going personally to the assassin's cell.

CSO: 2200/80

BULGARIA

USSR GOVERNMENT DELEGATION

Nuriyev Visits Plovdiv

AU191920 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 19 Dec 84

[Text] Ziya Nuriyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is visiting Bulgaria, has paid a visit to Plovdiv. He was accompanied by Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee. Ivan Panev, first secretary of Plovdiv okrug party committee and member of the State Council, acquainted the Soviet guest with the successes of the working people in achieving the programs of the 12th BCP Congress and of the National Party Conference.

Delegation Departs

AU221927 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 22 Dec 84

[Text] The Soviet government delegation led by Ziya Nuriyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has left Bulgaria.

The delegation was seen off at Sofia airport by Comrades Andrey Lukanov, Vasil Tsanov, and by other officials.

CSO: 2200/80

## BRIEFS

YEMENI MINISTER OF INTERIOR DEPARTS--Sofia, 21 Dec (BTA)--Mr Muhammad' Abdallah El-Buttani, alternate-member of the CC of the Yemeni Socialist Party and minister of the interior of the PDR of Yemen, left this country today. He was on a visit here at the invitation of Mr Dimitur Stoyanov, alternate-member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of the interior. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1400 GMT 21 Dec 84 AU]

FILIPOV RECEIVES IRAQI MINISTER--Sofia, 21 Dec (BTA)--Today Mr Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr Siddiq 'Abd al-Latif Yunis, Iraq's minister of agriculture and agrarian reform, who also chairs the Iraqi side of the Bilateral Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation Committee. The guest has been here for some days in connection with the committee's 16th session. The trade and economic cooperation between Bulgaria and Iraq was discussed and its development was assessed positively. There were reviewed the possibilities for extending and deepening the future interaction in the economic sphere, on using some new forms of cooperation. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1217 GMT 21 Dec 84 AU]

BULGARIAN DEPUTY MINISTER VISITS IRAQ--Tehran, 17 Dec (IRNA)--The deputy foreign trade minister of Bulgaria, Spas Georgiev, currently in Iran at the head of a delegation, in a meeting here Monday morning with the minister of agriculture, 'Abbas-'Ali Zali, discussed expansion of mutual cooperation, particularly in the field of agriculture. Zali said that measures have been taken for export of some 1,000 tons of citric fruits to Bulgaria. The Bulgarian deputy foreign trade minister expressed willingness of his country for cooperation with the Islamic Republic of Iran in the fields of agriculture such as cooperatives, forestry and irrigation. [Text] [Tehran IRNA in English 1610 GMT 17 Dec 84 LD]

FILIPOV VISITS SOFIA MARKETS, STORES--On 28 December Comrade Grisha Filipov made a brief tour of the capital. He visited some trade objects, as well as the central new year market on Poxitano Street. The well-decorated pavilions and the rich artistic program for the citizens evoked great interest. Other new year markets were also visited. Comrade Grisha Filipov expressed satisfaction with the variety of goods offered to the citizens and the organization of the trade services during the last days before the new year celebrations. During his tour Comrade Grisha Filipov was accompanied by Georgi Karamanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of production and



trade with consumer goods, and by Petur Mezhdurechki, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Sofia City People's Council. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 28 Dec 84 AU]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO SUDAN--The State Council has issued a decree relieving Yanchu Demirev of his post as Bulgarian Ambassador to Sudan, and appointing Rumen Cholakov to the same post. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 20 Dec 84 AU]

SRV ARMY DAY COMMEMORATED--On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the Vietnamese People's Army, a celebration was held at the Central House of the People's Army in Sofia tonight. Lieutenant General Ivan Botev, first deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, read a report. [Excerpts] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 20 Dec 84 AU]

BOZHINOV, KARADZHOV ATTEND MEETING--A joint meeting of the collegium of the Energy-Raw Materials Resources Ministry with the Vratsa Okrug BCP Committee was held in Vratsa town today. The meeting was attended by Comrades Todor Bozhinov and Stoyan Karadzhev, as well as by Svetoslav Petrushkov, first secretary of the Vratsa Okrug BCP Committee. The present state and development of industrial enterprises in the energy-raw material sector was discussed. Decisions were adopted to commission new plants, as well as to modernize and reorganize some of the plants operating at present, so that the efficiency of production may be increased and the social program of the workers collectives fulfilled in 1985 and during the forthcoming 5-year plan period. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 21 Dec 84 AU]

SECRETARY RUSAKOV RECEIVES AWARD--The State Council has issued a decree on awarding Konstantin Viktorovich Rusakov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, with the Georgi Dimitrov Order for his contribution to strengthening Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, cooperation between the BCP and the CPSU, and the comprehensive coming together between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR, as well as on the occasion of the 75th birthday. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 30 Dec 84 AU]

LCY WORKING GROUP VISIT--Sofia, 14 Dec (BTA)--From 10 through 14 December, a working group of the CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), led by Mr Joz Smole, member of the Presidency of the CC of the League of Communists of Slovenia, paid a visit to this country. The working group, which visited in accordance with the cooperation plan between the BCP and the LCY, was briefed on the major tasks and the work of the BCP for the further development of the political system. The guests had talks at the CC of the BCP and at the State Council and visited industrial enterprises and labour collectives in Sofia and in the district of Stara Zagora. The working party of the CC of the LCY was received by Mr Georgi Atanasov, alternate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP. The meeting passed in an atmosphere of sincerity and friendship. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1750 GMT 14 Dec 84 AU]

HUNGARIAN DEPUTY MINISTER VISITS--On 6 December Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council

of Ministers, and chairman of the Committee on Culture, received Ferenc Gazso, Hungary's deputy minister of culture and education. The meeting, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, was attended by Gyula Gyovai, Hungarian ambassador to Bulgaria. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Dec 84 p 8 AU]

HUNGARIAN PEACE COMMITTEE DELEGATION--The expanding cooperation between the Bulgarian and Hungarian peace movement is serving the cause of peace, understanding, and cooperation. This was confirmed by the visit to Bulgaria of a delegation of the Hungarian National Peace Council led by its chairman Mrs Nandor Sebestyen. The guests had a meeting with representatives of the National Committee on Defense of Peace led by its chairman Georgi Dimitrov--Goshkin. [Excerpt] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Dec 84 p 8 AU]

BULGARIAN-GDR JOURNALIST COOPERATION--On 6 December the Union of Bulgarian Journalists and the Union of GDR Journalists signed in Sofia a plan on cooperation in 1985. The document will facilitate the strengthening of the creative relations between the representatives of the two countries' mass media. [Excerpt] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Dec 84 p 8 AU]

LUKANOV MEETS ITU OFFICIAL--Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Richard E. Butler, secretary general of the International Telecommunications Union [ITU] in Sofia yesterday. The union is a specialized UN agency and has 157 member-states, including Bulgaria. They discussed questions concerning our country's cooperation with the ITU. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Dec 84 p 6 AU]

BCP DELEGATION TO PSOE--A BCP delegation, headed by Dimitur Popov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and first secretary of the Varna Okrug BCP Committee, departed for Madrid yesterday. The delegation will participate in the 30th Congress of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Dec 84 p 6 AU]

COOPERATION PROTOCOL WITH GREECE SIGNED--A Bulgarian-Greek protocol on scientific-technical cooperation for 1985 and 1986 has been signed in Athens. The protocol outlines the basic trends toward further expanding bilateral scientific-technical cooperation through an exchange of specialists and joint elaborations in the sphere of biology, food industry, physics, electronics, and microelectronics. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 20 Dec 84 AU]

CSO: 2200/80

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GROUND FORCES COMMANDER REVIEWS DEVELOPMENT OF NVA

East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 3 Oct 84 p 6

[Wolfgang Gebhardt interview with Col Gen Horst Stechbarth, deputy minister of defense and commander of ground forces of the National People's Army (date and place of interview not indicated): "Our Army Is Committed to Peace"]

[Text] [Question] Peace is the unshakeable doctrine of our state. You, Comrade Colonel General, have been a member of the armed forces since the founding of our republic. What thoughts do you have on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the GDR?

[Answer] Many members of our NVA celebrate in the 35th year of the GDR also their 35th service anniversary in the armed forces. Following the continuous and consistent policy line of the SED and our state back to the early years of our republic, a marked consistency becomes apparent--from the early beginnings and through the growth of our workers' and peasants' state the party of the working class has organized the armed guard to protect the achievements of the working people and their internal and external peace. It was thus logical for the SED to turn to members of the FDJ with an appeal to join the armed forces. Numerous young workers, peasants, and youths from other social classes followed the call.

Our Main Aim Is to Prevent War

Now, 35 years later, after passing many waystations on the path that led them to the NVA, they can arrive at the most important conclusion: Then as now the main aim of our military strategy is the prevention of war. This is in harmony with the total strategy of the SED and our state. For this reason the total activity of the GDR armed forces has been dedicated to peace, attempting to assure according to their capabilities and opportunities that never again a war will break out on German soil.

Since the founding of the NVA members of all forces, branches, special troops, and services are striving to achieve such combat power and readiness that permits them to meet their class mission at all times and in all conditions. In close comradeship with the Soviet army and other socialist fraternal armies the aim has always been to dissuade aggressive imperialist forces from military adventures in the heart of Europe and to make them aware of the fatal risks they would be taking should they unleash aggression against socialism.

Thus the 35-year history of our republic is at the same time a history of its reliable and successful military defense, and of its steadfast striving for peace and security. For this reason I, just as all current and former members of the NVA, am proud on this anniversary to have contributed according to my abilities to the meeting of the class mission.

[Question] In 1957 you were the commander of the motorized rifle division that participated in the first joint exercise of the NVA and the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG]. What are your recollections of that first highlight of comradeship in arms?

[Answer] The SED has always organized and conducted the development of the NVA and the entire national defense as an inseparable part of the joint defense efforts of the countries of the Warsaw Pact. From the very beginning the NVA has thus been prepared for its tasks within the framework of a collective defense of socialism and peace. The first joint exercises of an NVA motorized rifle division with units of the GSFG was an important milestone on this path of development of the NVA. After hardly a year and a half since the formation of the first NVA units the division was to show that our army had in that relatively brief period reached the level of training of the comrades in arms and was able to fulfill its mission as an integral part of the joint forces of the participating Warsaw Pact member states.

There were eager expectations, especially for evaluations from our experienced comrades in arms of the Soviet army. The successful course of the exercise showed--the NVA had become a reliable, recognized alliance partner of the fraternal socialist armies. At the same time the exercise was an important contribution to strengthening military collectives and expanding comradeship with the glorious Soviet Army.

[Question] This year the highlight of comradeship in arms of the fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact was the joint exercise "Shield 84," in the CSSR. You visited troop camps during the exercise. What characterizes today's comradely relations in comparison to the exercise in 1957?

[Answer] A continuous path stretches from the 1957 exercise to our day. Such important maneuvers, command post and troop exercises of the joint forces such as "Quartet" in 1963, "October Storm" in 1965, "Comradeship in Arms" in 1970 and 1980 on GDR territory, or the "Shield" maneuver series in other states have been milestones in cooperation of the allied armies. The most recent maneuvers, "Shield 84," are still fresh in our memory.

Comparing exercises in the early years of the NVA with those of our day both similarities and differences emerge. What is the same is the spirit of socialist comradeship in arms that inspires all maneuver participants, the universal will and action to persevere as soldiers of socialism and peace, the common striving for military expertise. I was convinced of this in conversations with NVA members and members of other fraternal armies I had in the course of preparing for the "Shield 84" maneuvers.

However, the combat power of the participating fraternal armies is incomparably higher than before. This is demonstrated by increased leadership skills of commanders, officers, and staffs in organizing joint combat operations even in complicated situations, in the excellent military skills of members of groups, of service troops and crews, and in the delivery of high-performance, effective arms and equipment to the troops.

Joint maneuvers, troop and command post exercises have made it obvious that the allied armies possess such a level of political-moral cohesion, combat power and readiness, and a degree of cooperation that they are able to fulfill the peacekeeping mission of socialist armed forces even under the new and increased demands posed by the armament policy, confrontation, and open preparation of war against socialism forced by U.S. and NATO aggressive circles. These exercises prove--there will never be a military superiority of the most aggressive imperialist forces.

#### Active NDP Participation in National Defense

[Question] Among the most valuable achievements in the history of our republic is the firm unity of the working class, the people, and the army. Would you like to say a few words about the support of GDR military policy by our NDP?

[Answer] The NDP has always supported the military policy of the SED and our state, and has made an active contribution to the development of socialist national defense. This has been affirmed in the declarations of the 12th NDP congress, and proven by numerous military-political initiatives in your entire party. Your party chairman, Prof Dr Heinrich Homann, stated at the 12th party congress: "There is nothing more important, necessary and better for us than to strengthen the GDR (to include its defense capability) and to be prepared to stand up in its defense." These words are illustrated by the exemplary duty performance of numerous party members alongside Communists during their active or reserve service, but also in premilitary training or in reservist associations.

As an example within the ground forces I would mention Warrant Officer Eberhard Eisner of the "Leo Jogisches" unit, a veteran of more than 25 years in the NVA. He performs in an exemplary fashion as armorer and group chief, and has often led his collective to championship. Good and excellent military proficiency, a high state of readiness, and social activity are also hallmarks of sergeants Steffen Grosser and Andreas Meyer, NCO candidate Harry Holz, and Private Uwe Krakow. Just as Corporal Oliver Michalsky of the "Soja Kosmedemjanskaja" unit who considers his NVA service as a mission of his party, these young NPD members show that they want to exert all their capabilities to solve the most important mission of the day--deter the danger of a nuclear inferno and to secure a firm, permanent peace.

[Question] On the occasion of the 35th anniversary of our republic members of the ground forces have developed major new initiatives. Could you provide some examples for our readers?

[Answer] Members of the ground forces have rallied under the competitions slogan: "Battle position 10th Party Congress. Toward high combat readiness! Everything for the good of the people." They want to make the 35th year of the GDR the most successful yet in fulfillment of the class mission. Data obtained to date indicate that the goal will be reached. This is shown by a very high number of obligations met in competition for the "best" or "best collective" titles. This is all the more important since increased requirements for the championship title mean much greater demands. There are also excellent results in the competition for the other five military awards. The rise in the competition movement caused by the activities of young army members within the "Peace levy of the FDJ" program is noticeable.

#### A Soldier's Dedication to GDR Policy

Members of the ground forces show through these extensive mass initiatives their dedication to the internal and foreign policies of our socialist state, as decided by the 10th SED congress and supported by the allied parties. They stress their firm dedication to act completely according to the words of the Secretary General of the SED central committee, Erich Honecker, spoken at this year's reception for graduates of the military academies: "Peace in our time must be strong. Not hopes but deeds will make it more secure."

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CSO: 2300/138

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SURVEY SHOWS UNPOPULARITY OF PROPAGANDA LITERATURE

Leipzig BOERSENBLATT FUER DEN DEUTSCHEN BUCHHANDEL in German No 43, 23 Oct 84  
pp 1-24

[Excerpt] Preferred Subject Areas and Literary Genres

Questions 4 and 5 were to provide information on preferred subject areas and literary genres from the viewpoint of sales. The information was to be arranged according to ranking. Ranking from 1 to 7, places 1 to 3 brought 3, 2, 1 points.

As can be seen, subjects of daily life are in first place, followed by historical representations and questions of socialist business administration. The good placement of historical books is based on the positive experience of booksellers with the title "Anikin [as printed], Gold." The data also show that popular-scientific biographical presentations, political economy and discourses on capitalism were much less in demand. This study could not yet establish the cause for this.

First place clearly belongs to the literary genre of reference works (for instance, countries of the world). It is closely followed by self-help books, which corresponds to the answers in question 4 (subjects of everyday life). The lowest demand is for biographies (again, see question 4). The last question, availability of popular-scientific economic literature, was evaluated as satisfactory or good. This answer corresponds to the evaluation under 3.1 with regard to design and format of popular-scientific books. In the opinion of book dealers, the number of titles could be larger.

Question 4: Preferred Subject Areas

Subject Area	Points	Ranking
Subjects of Everyday life	363	1
Historical Presentations	180	2
Practical Questions of Socialist Business Administration	93	3
Economic Topics	29	4
Biographical Portrayals	- 47	5
Political Economy	- 114	6
Discourses on Capitalism	- 160	7

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Question 5: Preferred Literary Genres

Literary Genre	Points	Ranking
Reference works	341	1
Self-help books on practical questions	233	2
Historical works	31	3
Survey books	28	4
Introductory books (in an economic discipline)	10	5
Special economic and business administration problems	- 73	6
Biographies	- 125	7

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CSO: 2300/135



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PARTY HINDERS PUBLICATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL REPORT

Bonn DIE WELT in German 13 Nov 84 p 5

[Article by H.-R. Karutz: "SED Censorship of Church Papers"]

[Text] The SED leadership, through member Werner Jarowski who is in charge of church questions in the Politburo, took exception to several articles in GDR church papers, and as censor, made corrections. Now, in West Berlin church circles more details have become known about this action.

According to this information, the MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG, for example, had to withdraw and alter a report on the latest general church synod in Greifswald because the SED disliked a certain sentence. It was this statement by the synod members, the highest church parliament of the Protestant Christians over there, in their concluding paper: "We cannot resign ourselves to the missile deployment in West Europe and the corresponding measures within the states of the Warsaw pact."

The newspaper had to reformulate its report, as was also reported at the regional synod meeting in Schwerin. A revised wording was used which came from the official Evangelical press agency ENA (the GDR counterpart of epd) headquartered in East Berlin. The same circumstances were recounted therein in a somewhat "smoothened" form.

Production and delivery of the weekly Schwerin newspaper was delayed several days by this state intervention. The paper is separate from the state and is circulated only by subscription. Rumor has it that this was one of the first emphatic steps taken by Jarowski, selected by Erich Honecker for church work in the SED Politburo. Only in charge of the "trade and supply" sectors up to then, Jarowski also assumed the "church" sector in the SED Politburo some time ago, after ailing Paul Verner retired.

The party leadership was also unhappy with the subject of "environmental protection," which is becoming more pressing in "GDR" society and is discussed in church papers. As was also learned from Western church circles, the journal POSDAMER KIRCHE had to withdraw or rewrite an article on environmental protection issues. Its content had caused a critical reaction in SED circles.

Meanwhile, the SED through a kind of "forward strategy" is trying to gain for itself opinion leadership in matters of environmental protection, which had long been relinquished to the Evangelical churches. Proof of this is seen in the fact that half of the November issue of the SED party paper EINHEIT is dominated by environmental topics.

Environmental policy in the workers' and farmers' state is not pursued as "a separate matter," but as a component of "overall policy." "It does not find expression in spontaneous actions," but is directed by state authorities, combines, factories and cooperatives.

Lastly Reichelt, citing a Honecker phrase, touches upon the dilemma of GDR environmental policy, which in principle is much desired--that cost hinders effective progress. Honecker expressed it as follows: "From the efficiency of the economy must flow the funds which alone make possible the fruitful progress of many other sectors within the intent of our programmatic goals. This includes also measures for protecting nature and the environment."

Meanwhile, Christian-motivated friends of environmental protection from all over the republic met in Wittenberg. The church research institute located there constitutes a "brain-trust" from which comes the bible of many "GDR" Greens, for instance the paper "The Earth Can Still Be Saved." It lists numbers and facts of the enormous environmental damage nowhere else officially available.

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CSO: 2300/135

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

INCREASED SUBSIDIES FOR PRIVATE HOME CONSTRUCTION

Text of Implementing Regulation

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOCRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I  
No 28, 24 Oct 84 pp 317-318

["Fourth Implementing Regulation to the Private Home Construction Decree of 7 August 1984, signed by W. Junker, minister for Construction Industry, E. Hoefer, minister of Finance, and H. Kaminsky, president of the State Bank of the GDR under Ministry of Finance"]

[Text] On the basis of Article 14 of the private home construction decree of 31 August 1978 (GB1. I Nr 40 p 425) as well as Article 1, paragraph 4 of the directive Nr. Pr. 211 of 20 May 1982 concerning industrial prices for new construction performances (special issue Nr 1090 of the GESETZBLATT) in the wording of the decree Nr. Pr. 211/1 of 18 May 1984 (special issue Nr 1172 of the GESETZBLATT), the following is decreed, with the consent of the heads of the responsible central state authorities and in agreement with the national board of the Free German Trade Union Federation:

Concerning Articles 5 and 9 of the decree:

Article 1

For private homes, new construction beginning after 31 December 1984, a) the cost norms (Enclosure 1, columns 2 and 3) are to be applied, b) the differences between current industrial prices and prices at the level of 31 December 1975 are made up through a lump sum price equalization payment (Enclosure 1, columns 4 and 5).

Article 2

For private homes, where new construction was started after 31 December 1981, and not completed by 1 January 1985, in addition to the lump sum price equalization payment under Article 1, letter b) of the Third Implementing Regulation of 10 February 1983 to the Private Home Construction Decree (GB1. I Nr 6 p 65), an additional price equalization amount is granted (see Enclosure 2).

### Article 3

(1) For private homes which were started during the period 1 January 1980 to 31 December 1981, and are not completed by 31 December 1984, in special cases and upon well-founded application by the citizen, in addition to the already granted lump sum price equalization payment according to Article 1, letter b) of the Third Implementing Regulation of 10 February 1983 to the Private Home Construction Decree, a further price equalization sum up to the amount listed in Enclosure 2, column 1, may be authorized.

(2) Citizen applications for the granting of the additional price equalization amount are to be directed to the local council responsible for private home construction. The chairman of the local council must submit the application, and his opinion thereof, within 2 weeks to the chairman of the county council for a decision.

(3) The decision of the chairman of the county council must be made known to the citizen and to the chairman of the local council within 4 weeks of receipt of the application by the county council.

### Article 4

This implementing regulation comes into force on 1 January 1985.

Berlin, 7 August 1984

The Minister for Construction Industry, Junker

The Minister of Finance, Hoefner

The President of the State Bank of the GDR, Kaminsky

### Enclosure 1

Concerning the above implementing regulation

	Permissible maximum expenditure according to current industrial prices -- Position on 1 January 1985		Lump sum price equalization payment for:	
Number of persons per household	Private homes of traditional construction methods and industrial assembly construction method	Homes with prefabricated parts <sup>1</sup>	Private homes according to column 2	Private homes according to column 3 <sup>1</sup>
1	TM 2	TM 3	TM 4	TM 5
Up to 4 persons	90.5	81.4	18.3	15.5
5 persons	99.6	90.0	21.3	19.4
6 persons	110.7	98.6	25.7	23.0
Over 6 persons	119.8	107.2	28.2	26.6

<sup>1</sup>The cost norms shown in column 3 and the price equalization amounts in column 5 increase by type-related industrial price differences for supply of building components.

Enclosure 2

Concerning the above implementation regulation

Additional Price Equalizations

Number of persons per household	Construction start 1/1/82- 31/12/82	Construction start 1/1/83- 31/12/83	Construction start 1/1/84- 21/12/84
	TM	TM	TM
	1	2	3
<hr/>			
1. Private homes of traditional con- struction method			
Up to 4 persons	0.9	1.8	2.7
5 persons	1.1	2.2	3.3
6 persons	1.3	2.6	3.9
Over 6 persons	1.5	3.0	4.5
2. Homes with prefabricated parts			
Up to 4 persons	2.0	4.0	6.0
5 persons	2.6	5.2	7.8
6 persons	3.1	6.2	9.3
over 6 persons	3.6	7.2	10.8

Commentary on Regulation

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 166, 6 Nov 84 p 2

[Text] As of 1 January 1985, builders of private homes in the GDR receive higher state subsidies. In an implementing regulation to the Private Home Construction Decree, new "cost norms" (maximum expenditure) have been established in accordance with the higher prices of the construction industry which were increased at that time. Accordingly, prices for conventionally constructed homes rise between 11 and 14 percent, depending on size. While at the present price level a house for a 4-member family may cost 82,000 Marks, not including the purchase of land, a price of 90.500 Marks has been determined for the coming year. The difference compared to 1975 construction prices is made up by subsidy. On the average it increases by 25 percent; in the case of a 4-member family, for instance, to 18,300 Marks. (GB1. I, 28/84).

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CSO: 2300/137

## BRIEFS

**YOUTH INITIATION CEREMONY CHRONICLED**--Thirty years ago, the youth initiation ceremony was introduced in the GDR as an atheistic substitute for confirmation. In November 1954, the Central Committee for Youth Initiation in the GDR was constituted in East Berlin. In an appeal to all parents, teachers and educators, it promoted the youth initiation ceremony which was to spur on young people "to develop all their capabilities for the good of their fatherland." The first youth initiation ceremonies in the spring of 1955, and the preceding "youth classes," were attended by about 52,000 boys and girls, a little under 18 percent of all the pupils in question. Since then, the youth initiation ceremony has become an almost obligatory exercise for entire student age groups: more than 97 percent of 14-year-olds take the youth initiation pledge of socialism. They are prepared for it during 1 year of obligatory youth classes. The topics of these youth classes are centrally determined, such as "We fulfill the revolutionary heritage," and "Friendship for Lenin's country--a matter close to the heart of our people." This indicates that the youth classes are linked to ideological aims. The pledge obligates the participant in the youth initiation, among other things, "to work and fight for the great and noble cause of socialism and to honor the revolutionary heritage of the people," to deepen friendship with the Soviet Union, and to defend socialism "against any imperialist attack." However, the most important aspect of the youth initiation ceremony for many 14-year-old pupils is still getting gifts, which have become larger and more expensive with the growing affluence of GDR citizens. As Jochen Chowanski, deputy chairman of the Central Committee for Youth Initiation in the GDR, announced, in future "more emphasis is to be placed on the development of good character" in preparing youngsters for the youth initiation ceremony. This is an important prerequisite so that the pledge "is spoken with conviction" on the day of the youth initiation ceremony. [Text] [West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 161 26 84 pp 2-3] 9917

**ATHLETES' POLITICAL TRAINING EMPHASIZED**--The East Berlin magazine THEORIE UND PRAXIS DER KOERPERKULTUR [Theory and Practice of Physical Education] is concerned about the political-ideological training of GDR athletes. It emphasized "that athletic training does not automatically lead to the formation of socialist attitudes and convictions." The trainer, who has to direct personal motivation into societal motivation, plays a large part, particularly in preparation for big international competitions where the athlete is to "present and consciously represent his socialist fatherland."

Since very young athletes in some sport disciplines are confronted with "problems of class conflicts," they must be acquainted with political-ideological issues appropriate for their age, while taking into consideration individual problems. [Text] [West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 161 26 Oct 84 p 3] 9917

ARD PROGRAMMING CRITICIZED--The East Berlin women's magazine FUER DICH criticized the U.S. detective series "Magnum" being shown on ARD television. It acknowledged that it had "exotic landscape, women, cars, action," but "weak plots." The main character, the "macho man," is a Vietnam veteran and is supposed to help overcome a trauma. He proves to modern woman "his masculine greatness and superiority." The military discipline and toughness of the "sex symbol of the eighties" glorifies the martial [element], and is supposed to dispel doubts about the sense of the arms buildup. Adoption of the series by ARD fits well with the "revanchist" spirit. [Text] [West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 161 26 Oct 84 p 3] 9917

CSO: 2300/123

## HUNGARY

### BRIEFS

**HUNGARY-USSR TRADE AGREEMENT**--The Hungarian-Soviet trade agreement for 1985 was signed this evening in Moscow. The protocol, signed by the two ministers of foreign trade, Peter Veress and Nikolay Patolichev, arranges for reciprocal deliveries of a value of more than R9 billion which exceeds this year's turnover. Next year the volume of deliveries of modern machine industry products will further increase. An important place in Hungarian exports to the Soviet Union is taken by machine industry products, buses, cranes, electronic computers, telecommunication equipment, food industry and chemical industry products, and painting equipment. In 1985 the Soviet Union will continue its delivery of basic fuels and raw materials, which play an important role in ensuring the planned development of the Hungarian people's economy. The cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of products necessary for agricultural industrial complexes will continue. According to the agreement, the reciprocal delivery of prime necessities also will increase. Sandor Rajnai, Hungary's ambassador in Moscow, was present at the signing of the protocol. [Text] [Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 14 Dec 84]

**MSZMP DELEGATION TO MOSCOW**--In the framework of interparty relations between the MSZMP and the CPSU, a Hungarian party workers delegation led by Sandor Boros, deputy head of the MSZMP Central Committee Department of Agitation and Propaganda, visited the Soviet Union from 26 to 30 November. The Hungarian delegation was briefed about the experiences in the implementation of the tasks determined by the CPSU Central Committee Plenum of June 1983, concerning the current issues of ideological work. The delegation held talks at the Department of Propaganda of the CPSU Central Committee, at the Moscow Municipal Committee of the CPSU, at the Academy of Social Sciences affiliated to the CPSU Central Committee, and at other institutions of party education. The delegation was received by Boris Stukalin, head of the Department of Propaganda of the CPSU Central Committee. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Dec 84 p 4 AU]

**HUNGARIAN-PRC COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT**--A cooperative delegation led by Wang Zhuo Hun, deputy chairman of the National Federation of Supply and Marketing Cooperatives [name and organization as published], of China, visited Hungary from 17 to 25 November. An agreement was signed on the economic and social cooperation between the two countries' organizations of cooperatives. Istvan Szlamenicky, chairman of the National Council of Consumer Cooperatives, held talks with the Chinese cooperatives' delegation. The head of the delegation was received by Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. The Chinese delegation left Hungary on 25 November. [Summary] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Nov 84 p 4]



HUNGARIAN-FRENCH BANK TALKS--Matyas Timar, state secretary, chairman of the Hungarian National Bank, paid a visit to France from 18 to 21 November, at the invitation of the French Central Bank. At his talks held with Michel Camdessus, governor of the Banque de France, they reviewed the relations between the two central banks and exchanged views on the current issues of the Hungarian-French economic cooperation and of the international monetary situation. The chairman of the Hungarian National Bank called on Pierre Berezgouvoy, minister of finance and economy, at his office, and met with other leading personalities of French financial life. Matyas Timar arrived in Budapest on 21 November. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Nov 84 p 5 AU]

VALUABLE ART STOLEN--The police are accusing a scientific researcher of stealing museum objects. The investigation of the county Komarom police headquarters has proven that (Sandor Lazs), a 33-year-old scientific associate, stole ancient prints, codices, valuable books, maps and woodcuts worth more than 800,000 forints from the library of the Esztergom Cathedral. (Lazs) stationed himself in the library in 1980, and there the disappearance of one of the codices of great value was noticed in the spring of last year. It emerged that (Sandor Lazs) was the thief and that in some cases (Gabor Sarbag), a 29-year-old junior scientific associate, assisted him. Both of them were then accused of theft. This year, an ancient print was noticed in a private second-hand bookshop in Budapest; Zoltan Ban, a 30-year-old inhabitant of Budapest, wanted to sell the print. The investigation started after this and, as a result, the County Komarom police headquarters have passed the case of (Sandor Lazs) and his two associates to the prosecutor's office with a recommendation of indictment. [Text] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2136 GMT 29 Nov 84]

NEWSPAPERS, JOURNALS PRICE RISE--The price of newspapers and periodicals will rise on average by 25 percent from 1 January. According to a communique of the National Materials and Prices Office, the price of political dailies will be 1.80 forints instead of 1.40 forints on weekdays, and 2.20 forints instead of 1.80 forints on weekends and holidays. The illustrated weeklies will cost 1.50 forints more on average, and the scientific and professional papers, as well as the entertainment papers will cost 30 percent more. Subscription prices also will change in accordance with this, starting next year. [Text] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 29 Nov 84]

MSZMP OFFICIAL, CHURCH DIGNITARIES MEET--Istvan Sarlos, member of the MSZMP Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, met with leaders of the Hungarian churches and denominations at the parliament on Thursday [13 December]. The friendly exchange of views, which was held in a frank atmosphere, was attended by State Secretary Imre Miklos, chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs. Istvan Sarlos briefed those present on timely issues of international life, our country's domestic position, and the tasks facing us. He spoke of the immediate and long-term tasks of the people's economy, the guiding principles of the party, which is making preparations for the congress, and plans for celebrating the 40th anniversary of our liberation. In their speeches, the church leaders brought to expression the fact that they are prepared to assume an active share of the accomplishment of tasks, which constitute a national program. They presented observations about phenomena that slow down social progress and circumstances that disturb good cooperation between the state and the churches. They stressed that they regarded the preservation and strengthening of socialist national unity as an important common cause. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Dec 84 p 5]

## BISHOP JAWORSKI SERMON ON CRUCIFIX ISSUE

LD152023 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1515 GMT 15 Dec 84

[Excerpts] In connection with the current issue of the protest of young people from the group of vocational schools in Wloszczowa, in the Kielce Diocese, we broadcast fragments of a sermon delivered in that town last Sunday by Bishop Mieczyslaw Jaworski, the vicar general. At the beginning the Bishop recalls the facts briefly.

It is true that the constitution says that church and state are separate; but separation of church and state does not mean, however, separation of the state from the nation believing in God; and the church is the believing people. The separation of Church from state does not, surely, mean the state's ill will toward the church and the faithful, and even more, it does not perhaps mean animosity.

In the difficult period for the church, in 1961, a law was passed: schools and other places of education and upbringing are lay institutions. The whole of education and upbringings in these institutions is lay in nature.

From the law, Bishop Mieczyslaw Jaworski went on, one must conclude that at state schools religious instruction may not take place, or crosses, or other religious emblems, may not be placed there. We are asking: Why at the same schools, may atheism be propagated, and the so-called scientific world outlook preached in every possible way, although believers, who are the majority of the nation, did not ask for propagation of atheism at all? We are also asking whether, we, the faithful, have any choice of schools other than the state ones, as in other countries, where beside the so-called lay school there are Catholic schools to choose? We are also asking, whether anybody, before passing the law, asked the nation--I repeat, in its majority, a Catholic one--whether we want the school without the cross? We did not agree to that law and cannot agree to it. A group of people cannot decide on such an important issue for a Catholic society without asking this society for its consent. Catholic parents, all Catholics, as we have heard, form the majority of the nation.

The school belongs to the nation and not to a group of people. The authorities should remember that. It is society, Catholic in its majority who pays tax for the school, and is entitled to decide the nature of this school. Children are not for the school; the school is for children. If the law, I have mentioned, does not allow believers to hang crosses, but allows atheism to be propagated, we do not accept such a law and cannot accept it, because it is a

violation of our untransferable right to freedom of religion. We are Catholics not only in church, but everywhere. In this case, I speak forcefully, we must listen to God more than to people. I also recall Jesus Christ's words: He who professes me in front of people, will be professed by me in front of God who is in heaven.

Continuing his sermon in Wloszczowa, Bishop Mieczyslaw Jaworski said: We cannot accept the 1961 regulation that has been mentioned, when in its present interpretation, it violates fundamental human rights. We believers, cannot accept it, as likewise we cannot accept the regulation on abortion. If a regulation has been passed and it painfully hurts the faithful, and is a source of tensions and social conflicts, it can be changed for public benefit and public order and given such a form that freedom of its interpretation would not be possible, in the same way as it has been passed. Here in Wloszczowa, is it humane that I am asking: issue is not being resolved in accordance with the will of the young believers, but that they are being made to comply through stubbornness and through dialogue? Listening to the cry of the young people for the return of crosses and the right to hang them, will not undermine the authority of the rulers, but will strengthen it. The crosses were removed. Who is then interested in sowing unrest and provoking society's indignation; the society that is still shattered by the crime committed regarding Father Jerzy Popieluszko?

We are closely following the course of events in Wloszczowa, continued Bishop Jaworski from Kielce. We are concerned about the confirmed news on visits paid to the homes of parents and young people, and about the contents of these conversations, which we are not disclosing at the moment, as we are not disclosing the way the young people were treated and addressed by some people.

Some priests have already been summoned to the Magistrates Court; Let us not allow ourselves to be intimidated. Let us not fall for gossip. Let us keep cool, sensible and cautious. We want to believe that the rights of the Catholic society will be respected and no one who defends the crosses will be harmed. If, however, somebody suffers, we shall know about it and we shall use all possible legal means to help those who have suffered.

We are also concerned about the behavior of journalists and reporters, who do not report the whole truth, and mislead public opinion. Who is interested in sowing distrust of the mass media still more? The community here, in the Wloszczowa parish, knows the whole truth.

At the end of his homily which was delivered last Sunday in Wloszczowa, Bishop Mieczyslaw Jaworski, encouraging prayer for God's blessing and God's grace, needed in these difficult and unrestful days, said: We expect in this land, Polish land, Wloszczowa land, justice and peace to come.

CSO: 2600/356

LOPATKA INTERVIEWED BY HUNGARIAN PRESS

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 23 Nov 84 p 7

[Interview with Adam Lopatka, Minister of the Office for Religious Affairs, by Andras Domany: "After the Funeral"; in Warsaw, date not specified]

[Text] The kidnapping and murder of clergyman Jerzy Popielusko on October 19th is still a main topic of conversation in Warsaw. His grave in the garden of Saint Stanislaus Church seems to be a place of pilgrimage. Even late at night, crowds gather to pay their last respects--in peace, though in the name of Solidarity, now two years disbanded--as alleged representatives of mines and universities, machine shops and the Academy of Sciences, without the official authorization of these institutions. Some are not only denouncing the crime, but also demonstrating their agreement with the priest's political views. Bishop Glemp and other prelates long ago called for reconciliation after the tragedy, but a few priests are becoming even more strongly inflammatory, and--it would be a shame to deny it, since it is apparent on people's faces--many listen. New facts in the murder case are publicized every day, sometimes revealing, sometimes further obscuring the nature of certain movements. I myself heard the declaration in which the speaker for the government categorically denied the involvement, as propagated in the West, of three members of the LEMP Political Committee: CC Secretary Milewski (whom Jaruzelski just replaced as party committee chairman in the Ministry of the Interior), Foreign Affairs Minister Olsowski and construction worker Siwak. But all concerned emphasize that the identity of the kingpins will be discovered, because the possibility of individual action on the part of certain high-ranking national security officials has been ruled out. With this moral attitude I reached Adam Lopatka, professor of law and Minister of the Office for Religious Affairs in Warsaw. (An excerpt from this interview was broadcast on the "168 Hours" radio program.)

[Question] How did these events affect the contacts between Church and state?

[Answer] In my opinion, basically favorably: a new, common platform of condemnation of terrorism has developed. Of course no one would have wished for such a tragic event to catalyze this transformation, yet the condition did not deteriorate either as the conspirators had hoped.

[Question] You are speaking of the higher clergy. Recently, however, one priest in his sermon called the spokesman for the state a "communist clown" and "servant of Satan." Others speak of the moral responsibility of the officials and journalists who incited the murderers with their criticism of Father Popielusko's political activities--for instance, when he preached from the pulpit the boycott of the elections before June.

[Answer] This is true, but I feel that this sizeable responsibility rests with the Church leadership, and not just within Poland. Popielusko was the most vocally anticommunist priest, who gathered a little network around him. Certain Church leaders supported him in this, others did not agree but tolerated and covered his activities. This is a great responsibility!

[Question] It is strange, too, that if the state chooses press polemics rather than legal and administrative recourse against its opponent, then this is seen as "uninhibited irritation" and "incitement to murder."

[Answer] I agree.

[Question] However, there is also the opinion, reported by a source close to the primate, that the state must also understand the Church's position: they cannot oppose the mood of the people...

[Answer] Yes, except that the Church is an important factor in social life in our country. And influence must not be exercised without accepting the proper responsibility! A serious institution with a moral foundation must be willing to take unpopular steps: it cannot always ride the torrents of popular opinion.

[Question] In any case, the majority of Church leaders are calling for compromise and communication. Yet it seems to me that they feel they represent "the" nation, the whole of the people, and the other negotiator, the state, is an alien, unauthorized entity.

[Answer] Such ideas are indeed expressed, but they are laughable and have nothing to do with the truth. Who makes up the Church? First the faithful, and only then the priesthood, the bishops and the Vatican. The prelates say that since the majority of the population are church members, they represent the people in every matter. In reality, this only applies to questions of faith and Church structure. In social, economic, and political issues, the faithful take their beliefs elsewhere: to political parties, including the Polish United Workers' Party, to parliaments and councils, trade unions and clubs. Those who actually believe in the Church's social teachings are also organized into international Catholic organizations, which are represented in the Sejm.

[Question] Except that the church does not recognize these organizations, because while they submit to the clergy on spiritual matters, their political viewpoint is the opposite: they preach participation in the building of socialism.

[Answer] No, the church does not recognize them, but the people do. They are the members and the motive force. Thus, in our opinion, the faithful do not voice their opinion in the clergy's pronouncements on non-religious matters. The clergy speaks only for itself and a small satellite group in social, economic and political matters.

[Question] They do, however, have their own industrial and agricultural development concepts, and their own ways of disseminating them. And they are unequivocal in doing so, claiming that the Church must direct the life of the "Catholic nation."

[Answer] Yes, they have all kinds of prescriptions, but of what sort? The church did rule this country for a fairly long time during our history, without much success. And priests often do not know what real life is like....

[Question] Excuse me, but many outstanding economic, legal and other experts work for them.

[Answer] True, there are experts, who do not always work for a good cause. In any case, the bishops have the same rights as any other citizen: they can write letters, and we will read their suggestions and accept some. But we will not attach special importance to anything, just because they say it.

[Question] Can you give an example of the discussion between church and state in today's situation?

[Answer] The legal status of the Catholic Church is one topic of debate. Many other, smaller churches are defined by law, but no such regulation exists for the Roman Catholic Church. We agreed that this must be resolved, and by the end of 1983 the experts had worked out a plan which greatly increased the church's privileges without increasing the responsibilities at all. The church adheres to this plan although it is completely unacceptable to the government. Perhaps we will have to begin with questions of detail, such as the legal status of the church and certain of its administrative institutions, in order to effect a compromise for now. Then we will turn to the agricultural fund: it may yet come into existence although the tariff- and tax-exempt status desired by the church is a considerable demand, yet it is already apparent that only a fraction of the promised money will be brought together, and even that carries political pressure. We are also trying to determine the legality of a few theological universities which the church brought into existence without the consent or approval of the state. Their status and the value of their diploma is unclear. We will apparently know the answer soon, since the Lublin Catholic University has been granting accredited diplomas in the schools of theology, philosophy and law for decades. There is also a state theological university which the church does not recognize completely.

[Question] The Polish Catholic Church has simply acquiesced in the post-1944 changes, but not accepted them (although this is farther than some blinded extremists have progressed in their viewpoint.) The church attacks the principle of the separation of church and state, requires that all of social life be based on religious principles, and accuses "authority" of "forced secularization and atheization" in a country where religious freedom visibly flourishes. In other words, tensions are high, and the official leadership of the church

does not seem willing to accept the viewpoint of the Catholic community of the world: that is, that the faithful and their church can find their niche in socialism. Or, as the PAX-Society claims, that patriotism, catholicism and socialism are compatible. What then is the outlook for church-state ties?

[Answer] We believe that the Catholic Church will gradually adjust to the demands of socialism, just as it adjusted to feudalism and capitalism during our history, and even thrive. It has not lost the adaptability. People continue to desire religion; secularization is a gradual process, and we do not want to force it. There are many forces at work in the church. Some see clearly that cooperation is useful, even necessary, on their part as well as ours. Others consider socialism to be a temporary stage...On the subject of the theology of liberation, the Vatican has sadly made the battle against Marxism the responsibility of the church. This is a step backward from the spirit of the Second Vatican Council, even from the letter of its decisions. It is as if the time of Pius XII, when the church put primary importance on fighting communism, had returned. But these forces are not in the majority. We see that in the future, socialism in our country will grow and develop. Thus the church will also continue its adjustment. There is one last territory, in which we cannot speak of a compromise: that is in ideology. But we have found much common ground in politics: the independence and sovereignty of Poland and the inviolability of her borders is also a concern of the church.

[Question] It is no accident that the state and the primate agreed on the issue of the alleged German minority in Poland, although Bishop Glemp has come under vigorous attack in FRG for this reason.

[Answer] Of course, since there is no such minority! The church also wants the economy to operate more successfully. We find agreement in many moral matters as well. Our opinion on why we must strive to be good people differs, but we do agree that we must all be good people. The church does not want people to kill, steal, drink to excess, or break up the family. The state wants none of this either. Thus we have grounds for cooperation in many matters. Of course there are political conflicts, there always will be. But the church has always experienced such conflicts, even in states governed by the most God-fearing men, because their worldly political ambitions are many. The conflicts are not, however, unresolvable. It is our conviction that what unites us is more important than what separates us. We have many worldly troubles, so we will not debate God. Cooperation--or, if I may use the expression, peaceful coexistence--rules, and we base our policies on it. There are many rewards along with the hardships and pains. We hope that the rewards will multiply, although the solutions cannot be fully realized in one or two years. Think of the fact that the church has adjusted to every past regime with a delay of 100-150 years! We can hope that this process has begun to accelerate, but even then we have 40-60 years to wait...

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CS0: 2500/102

## REASONS GIVEN FOR DECLINING EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS

### Need for Better Curriculum

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Nov 84 p 3

/Article by Dr Ludwik Malinowski/

/Text/ Social sciences taught in the public education system are categorized as follows: civic education in the elementary schools; preparatory instruction on society in the high schools; study of economics, politics and philosophy in the universities.

One would think that this program should guarantee teaching young people about society and should be enough to serve as a basis for learning about how to be a good citizen and improve consciousness.

However, this practice has not been very optimistic up to the present. Negligence often reaches elementary matters. One cannot find in the publications market any books or textbooks written in an attractive and comprehensible style for young people and their way of thinking. In academic circles, no one can see any desire to write these types of textbooks; some hope has come with the announcement that a new textbook on political science soon will appear in the bookstores.

In the first place, consideration should be given to the youth, whose well-being in life is at stake here. The students frequently ask about the speed of changes in Poland, the state economy and the functioning of the socialist state. Lately, the youth have submitted commentaries on the economic reform, frequently criticizing the division of profits.

This is but one proof that we cannot become exclusively involved with theory in the social sciences. There should be a correlation between theory and the political activity undertaken by the state and the party.

This does not mean that we should utilize chatty lectures or newspaper articles to explain political theory. In years past, teaching in this manner brought about a lot of trouble in education, frustration and shattered ideas among youth. Social science understood in this way does not have any right to exist.



Students at their lectures should have to find true knowledge, which in the future will help them to find themselves in a very complicated world that has many contradictions. The role of the teacher should be patience in overcoming doubts and objectively explaining why socialism exists in Poland, showing its historical roots and explaining its natural connection with our history and our future. This is often very difficult, as teachers have to have a thorough theoretical knowledge, knowledge of present problems, and also mental toughness.

The specifics of social science depend to a large degree on education's forming the ideological base as an integral part of program material.

Social science should develop among youth a political culture based on scientific knowledge and one's own thoughts, supported by premises and not by emotion. Teachers should give a series of examples and value criteria. This is very important not only for theoretical discussions in a complicated world but also for a political evaluation of the events taking place in the country.

In particular, it is important that a divergence of opinion between criteria established on a daily basis and the criteria developed during the lectures not occur among future doctors, teachers, engineers and officers. This concerns such matters as the functioning of authority, development of democracy and the speed and character of changes in Poland.

This is why there is such fundamental meaning for the introduction of youth to the essence of Marxist-Leninist party theory, the general processes of social development and structural changes in creative strengths. The knowledge and the emotional bond of youth with socialism and the Polish People's Republic stands as the point of departure for understanding party policy and the workers' movement on a global scale.

It is understandable that social science, like many other sciences, does not supply ready answers for every deficiency in our sociopolitical life.

Unfortunately, in many universities the unjustified belief exists that social science and those who teach it should be responsible for the political education of youth.

This is an incorrect point of view and should not exist in the educational system. Also responsible for the ideological and political education of youth are all teachers, family members and many other institutions.

Social science should provide theoretical knowledge, introduce youth to actual political solutions and provoke scientific discussions.

During the past several years, the prevalence of antisocialist ideology was caused to a large degree by weakness in the social sciences, their low aggressiveness and ineffective method of influencing youth. This ideological and political confusion has brought only exaggeration of the negative occurrences in our daily life and transference of them to the right of socialism, its development and its historically legal validity.

In working directly with students, there are developing favorable conditions for explaining the complicated problems of our social life and showing the lack of sense of actions that delay our extrication from the crisis, attitudes of apathy and nihilism.

Speaking in general, the social sciences have two functions: one refers to knowledge of theory and policy methodology, organization and functioning of political institutions, knowledge of politics, law and civic duties; the second refers to political habits and the individual's relationship to society as a whole. Both functions demand an acceleration of sociopolitical maturity among youth and a correction of emotions to political and ideological thought based on scientific principles.

In order to realize these two functions, we should make youth more active in social work. This will prepare our youth to enter more productive adult lives.

#### Improvements in Teaching Cadre

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Nov 84 p 3

/Article by Bohdana Gajdeczkowa/

/Text/ For some time now, parents have complained that their children cannot understand in school what their teachers are teaching them. Counselors have reported an increase in neurosis among schoolchildren during school hours. Opinion has prevailed in the press that the new school programs, especially mathematics, is beyond the capabilities of elementary school children.

Is the current Polish school system difficult? This question was discussed recently in Ostroleka at several meetings with journalists. Here are a few points raised in those discussions.

#### Reflection I: Demands for the Ambitious

The issue of the "difficult school" was raised as a simplification of the problem. Most in attendance stated that today's elementary schools from first through eighth grade are very interesting and challenging for the children and the teachers. Both have to break away from traditional teaching methods, including the home.

For example, in mathematics one used to be stuck with the boring resolution of tables; now, one resolves models. Today, if a teacher has the ambition to have good results, he/she cannot employ the experience of the past generation of educators. The mechanical and old solutions do not apply. Every subject matter requires invention, creative thought and frequently diverse points of view in the given area of study.

Every lecture is a search for effective method to teach a student. One teacher stated that she has taught for many years, but when she feels she is losing a student, she realizes that the student will have many difficulties in learning.

The contemporary school needs a teacher who is well prepared to teach and willing to reject the routine. This is nothing new, of course, but it should always be this way, and it is especially necessary now with the rapid changes brought about by the reform. The modernization process began in the late 1970's. The kindergartens came first, then grades one through three and finally the higher grades. At present, the modification process in education is in grades one through six. This year--1984/85--a new program and new books have been introduced into grade seven and next year to grade eight. During the course of the next 2 years, the first phase of the modernization process in the elementary schools should be completed. During that time the process will continue into the high schools.

New efforts always bring resistance. Unqualified teachers--Ostroleka Province has many of them--do not know how to deal with and reduce the difficulties. Ignorance, lack of educational knowledge and lack of teaching methodology often lead to hopelessness vis-a-vis the pupils: "I am giving you a lesson, and you have to learn it." And this leads to defeat for both teachers and pupils.

#### Reflection II: Self-Sufficiency

CEZAS, or the Central School Supply of the Ministry of Education, already has a list of educational equipment needs. One can instruct in the minimum or maximum, but in the schools it is as before--primitive.

One of the elementary teachers complained that she needs many hours to paint a picture for the Polish language class: "I do not have artistic talent, so copying all evening is required. The next day I use the picture only for a few minutes, but I know that without it many children would not be able to understand the new lesson. This is why I am going this. This is why I have visited the bookstores and kiosks to buy with my own money books, posters, calendars and many other different things. A new program needs a lot of educational equipment. That is natural. What is unnatural is that even the less complicated educational equipment is too complicated for use by the

teacher. Time needed for lesson preparation is used for painting, gluing or cutting out something. The teacher devotes his/her time to these things and not to opening students' minds."

Self-sufficiency of teachers in producing educational equipment should not stand as a reason for pride. It is an example of unreasonably used time and teachers' energy. If all this work by teachers led to the production of new educational equipment, then it would make sense. That is how progress is born. But if a teacher is making what specialists made a long time ago and much better, then what do we call this situation?

One of the teachers said, "I teach biology to all classes and have only two microscopes. Am I supposed to tell the students 'I shall draw the tissue on the blackboard and you are supposed to learn from it'? The school wants to buy more microscopes, but where from? Board and chalk will remain the only teaching materials within these four walls. Verbal teaching is not attractive and does not stimulate the students' imaginations. It is making school difficulty."

### Reflection III: On the Need To Call Things as They Are

Many examples have been given as to why Polish schools are difficult. We have talked about too much homework for the children because classes are in shifts, transportation problems and not enough teachers. We have discussed the decline of teaching in general. Excursions have become a luxury because the cost per person is 3,000 zlotys. An excursion from Ostroleka to Krakow requires 2 or 3 days. The cost is simple--3,000 zlotys. Which parents would pay this kind of money without thinking twice?

Attention also was drawn to the fact that some students need remedial help. And the schools are helpless, as they do not have the room or the specialists. The discussion ended when the subject of books came up. This is an important issue to teachers. A high school student can take notes, but not an elementary school pupil. The students do not have books but have to finish school.

It is very difficult to summarize these few hours of discussion. One can state that the school today is or is not difficult, but it is characterized by many difficulties. This matter must be discussed openly and solutions to the problems must be sought. The building of a new gym or a new building does not always solve the educational problem. One school needs a gym and another needs a microscope, but all of them need reductions in the cost of field trips.

The difficult school is a relative conception. More often, the school is underinvested financially and intellectually. This was the last reflection.

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CSO: 2600/199

REPORT ON RCP MESSAGE TO PSOE CONGRESS

AU191446 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 17 Dec 84 p 6

[Text] The representatives of the socialist, communist, and workers parties from various countries, who participated in the proceedings of the 30th congress of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party [PSOE], extended greeting messages to the congress.

On behalf of the RCP, its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and on behalf of the working people of the SR of Romania, Comrade Iosif Banc, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, extended warm greetings to the participants in the 30th PSOE Congress, to all the party activists, and to the friendly Spanish people.

The greeting message reads: We take this opportunity to emphasize with satisfaction the relations of friendship between the RCP and the PSOE, relations that are based on mutual esteem, confidence, and understanding and on respect for each party's right to work out its own strategy and tactics according to the historical, national, and social conditions prevailing in each country. The message expresses also the belief that the continuous development of ties between the two parties is a factor of particular importance in expanding and diversifying relations between Romania and Spain in political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and other fields in the interest of both peoples and the cause of peace and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world.

Recently, Romanian Communists attending the 13th RCP Congress made an extensive inventory of the outstanding achievements registered by our people in developing and modernizing the production forces, in emphasizing the intensive nature and raising the quality level of all branches of the national economy, in perfecting the activity of the state and of the overall leading democratic system of the social and economic life, in increasing the material and cultural level of all the people, for the manysided development of the human personality. Similarly, the congress of our party put forward the major guidelines of the socioeconomic development for the period between 1986-1990, and the future orientations regarding Romania's development up to the year 2000, the message notes.

The message further states: The recent course of events demonstrates that we face a decisive stage regarding the future of humanity. We believe that

everything possible should be done to unite the efforts of all progressive and realistic forces and the efforts of all people to achieve disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and to defend the people's vital right to existence, to life, and to peace.

We hail the coming meeting between the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and the United States, which, we hope, will lay the foundation for starting real negotiations in order to solve the complex problems of humanity, solely through negotiations. We believe that all the other countries throughout the world, particularly the states belonging to the two military pacts--the Warsaw Pact and NATO--must assume a greater and direct responsibility to contribute to resolving international problems and achieving disarmament and peace.

Within this framework we consider that halting the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe and the countermeasures by the Soviet Union must be the focus of discussions and must be given priority.

At the same time, we must act most decisively to halt the conflicts and to begin to solve them and all disputes solely through negotiations.

The RCP attaches great significance to the peace movements in Europe and throughout the world. This movement, the message reads, succeeded in drawing the governments' attention to some very important problems and made them take account of the opinions of the broad people's masses. This is why we must intensify our struggle for peace and cooperation with peace movements everywhere in order to lend the movement new scope. Only by an ever broader participation by the peoples' masses and by the peoples everywhere in the struggle for disarmament and peace will positive results be achieved and a new trend toward detente, resolving the complex problems in the interest of peace, independence, and freedom of all nations of the world be ensured.

Taking into consideration the serious economic and financial situation in the world, restructuring the monetary and financial system is necessary and the participation of all states--with equal rights--in the activity of the international financial bodies. Real negotiations are necessary between developed and developing countries regarding the overall economic development, in order to establish a general program of assisting the efforts made to eliminate underdevelopment. A new world economic order, based on equality, equity, and mutual advantage must be achieved.

The RCP is most resolutely acting and will further act to expand relations with socialist and social-democratic parties, and considers that in the current international conditions this fact has great importance. The cooperation between the communist and workers parties with the socialist and social-democratic parties represents a vital necessity for the peoples' progress and independence, for disarmament and peace throughout the world. As far as Romania is concerned, it will continue to work resolutely in the future, too, to contribute to the triumph of the policy of peace and disarmament and the triumphs of reason. Romania believes that this is fully in keeping with the interests of our people and the interests of all peoples throughout the world to live and cooperate in peace.

In conclusion, the message expresses the belief that the relations of friendship between the RCP and the PSOE and between the Romanian and the Spanish people will further develop for the benefit of the two countries, and for the cause of peace, and international cooperation.

PEC ENDORSES RESULTS OF KARAMANLIS VISIT 26-28 NOV

AU081640 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1609 GMT 8 Dec 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 8 December 1984--During an 8 December meeting of the Executive Political Committee [PEC] of the CC of the RCP President Nicolae Ceausescu read a presentation of the official visit paid by Konstandinos Karamanlis, president of the Hellenic Republic, to Romania over 26-28 November.

The Executive Political Committee appreciated highly the results of the visit that marked a new, outstanding moment in the development of the friendly relations between Romania and Greece. The fact was highlighted that the new interview between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Konstandinos Karamanlis--part of the traditional Romanian-Hellenic relations and summit contacts--highlighted once more the joint wish to strengthen further the collaboration between the two countries both in a bilateral plane and in the international life. In the context the importance was highlighted of the understandings agreed upon for an impetus to be given to the collaboration in the economic plane so that it may stand on a par with the good political relations established between the two countries and grow over the ensuing period, in agreement with the greater possibilities offered by the national economies of Romania and Greece, and with the advantages created by the geographical proximity. The fact was shown that a sustained promotion of the Romanian-Hellenic collaboration in all the fields meets to the full the interests of progress and independent development of the two peoples and at the same time serves the cause of understanding and cooperation among nations.

The Executive Political Committee also highlighted that the exchanges of opinions between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Konstandinos Karamanlis on the current international policies expressed the wish of Romania and of the Hellenic Republic to strengthen their collaboration in the world arena and to make their full contribution to finding constructive solutions to the complex problems confronting the contemporary world to the benefit of peoples.

The Executive Political Committee assessed highly the way President Nicolae Ceausescu reasserted on that occasion the stance of Socialist Romania on the evolution of the international life, stressing the firm resolve of Romania to work further for a resumption and consolidation of the course towards detente, the implementation of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament in the interstate issues, for a peaceful, negotiated settlement of all the interstate issues,

for the setting in of a new world economic order, for a wide collaboration among the Balkan countries, for turning the Balkans into a zone of peace and cooperation, of friendship and good neighborliness, free of nuclear weapons and foreign military bases, for the setting in of a climate of confidence and fruitful collaboration in Europe and throughout the world.

Approving unanimously the results of the visit, the Executive Political Committee established measures for a best implementation of the understandings agreed upon as concerns a further development and deepening of the Romanian-Hellenic relations of friendship and collaboration.

CSO: 2020/39



## POPE MEETS WITH NEW ROMANIAN BISHOP 10 DEC

LD101910 Vatican International Service in English 1445 GMT 10 Dec 84

[Text] The holy father's first appointment this morning was a meeting with about 60 [word indistinct] Romanians who came to Rome for the episcopal ordination of the new apostolic administrator of the Archdiocese of Bucharest, Bishop (Ioan Robu). Bishop Robu was ordained bishop by the Cardinal Secretary of State Agostino Casaroli, on the morning of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, 8 December. The holy father described this as a historic occasion. Through the episcopal ordination of Bishop Robu, the pope said, the beloved Romanian nation takes its place in the universal structure of the Church, and in the context of the religious feeling and [word indistinct]. The holy father went on to draw attention to the deep significance of the episcopal ordination of Bishop Robu.

[Words indistinct], the pope said, the triple bond which links this important local church first of all with the Holy See, and with the successor of Peter, then with the whole Church which is in Romania, and finally with the Romanian nation itself. The Church is part of this nation and desires to bring its service of love and its contribution for an ever greater and better social and cultural development. The pope also mentioned the ecumenical problem which is particularly felt in Romania, and concluded his address by greeting all the Romanians present, including the new bishop's father as well as representatives of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania who had come to Rome to be present at the ceremony.

CSO: 2020/39

OPREA RECEIVES SANDINIST OFFICIAL 6 DEC

AU062108 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2030 GMT 6 Dec 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 6 December 1984--On 6 December Romanian First Deputy Prime Minister Gheorghe Oprea received Henry Ruiz Hernandez, commander of the Revolution, member of the National Direction of the Sandinist National Liberation Front of Nicaragua, minister of planning, who visited Romania.

The interview occasioned an exchange of warm salutes between President Nicolae Ceausescu and the President Elect of the Republic of Nicaragua, Daniel Ortega Saavedra.

During the interview the sides approached problems related to the development of the relations of collaboration between Romania and Nicaragua as well as aspects concerning the intensification of economic exchanges. In the context the sides expressed satisfaction at the good relations of friendship and collaboration established between the two countries, relations based on the understandings reached during summit talks, and highlighted the possibilities at hand for an expansion and deepening of the collaboration in the economic, technical, scientific and other sectors of activity between Romania and Nicaragua.

Stefan Barlea, chairman of the State Planning Committee, participated in the interview that proceeded in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

While visiting Romania Nicaragua's minister of planning, Henry Ruiz Hernandez, also talked with Stefan Barlea, chairman of the State Planning Committee.

CSO: 2020/39

ROMANIA

NICU CEAUSESCU RECEIVES SOVIET YOUTH DELEGATION

AU061840 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1737 GMT 6 Dec 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 6 December 1984--Nicu Ceausescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, met on 6 December the delegation of the Leninist Young [title as received] Communist League of the Soviet Union, headed by V.M. Mishin, first secretary of the Central Committee of the LYCL, in Romania for swap of experience as guests of the CC of the UCY.

They made a wide exchange of information and views on the participation of the young generation in the two countries in the political, economic and social activity, for the translation into life of the orientations and tasks set for the young people by the RCP and the CPSU respectively. At the same time, they discussed current aspects of the international youth and student movement in the perspective of the observance in 1985 of the International Youth Year "Participation, Development, Peace."

Emphasis was placed on the determination of the youth organizations in Romania and the USSR to further work in the USSR to further work in the spirit of the meetings and understandings reached at summit level, for the development and deepening of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the Romanian youth and the Soviet youth, between the Union of Communist Youth and the Leninist Youth Communist League.

CSO: 2020/39

## BRIEFS

CEAUSESCU TO AL-JUMAYYIL--To His Excellency Mr Amin al-Jumayyil, president of the Republic of Lebanon, Beirut: On the 41st anniversary of the proclamation of state independence of the Republic of Lebanon, I take pleasure in conveying cordial congratulations and best wishes for good health and personal happiness to you, as well as wishes for prosperity and peace to the friendly Lebanese people. I am convinced that relations between our countries will continue to develop on a bilateral level and in the area of international relations in the interest of the Romanian and Lebanese peoples and of the policy of peace, independence, and broad cooperation among all countries. Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA Romanian 22 Nov 84 p 15 AU]

CEAUSESCU TO 'ARAFAT--To Comrade Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee: On the occasion of your reelection as chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, I take particular pleasure in conveying to you sincere greetings and best wishes for success, on my own behalf and on behalf of the RCP Central Committee and all Romanian people. I take this opportunity to express my belief that the relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation between the RCP and the PLO will further expand and diversify, for the mutual benefit of our peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace, independence, and international cooperation. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Dec 84 p 5 AU]

CUBAN EMBASSY RECEPTION--On the 28th anniversary of the creation of the revolutionary armed forces of the Republic of Cuba, that country's ambassador to Bucharest, Rodney Lopez Clemente, and the military, air, and naval attache, Colonel Celso O. Hernandez, gave a cocktail reception on Monday [3 December]. Mihai Nicolae, deputy section chief at the RCP Central Committee, Gheorghe Gomoiu, deputy minister of national defense, representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, generals and officers, and other officials attended the reception. Heads of diplomatic missions accredited in our country, military attaches, and members of the diplomatic corps were also present. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Dec 84 p 3 AU]

PRAGUE MARXIST REVIEW DISCUSSION--Prague 6 December (AGERPRES)--A discussion on the activity of the international review of the communist and workers parties "Problems of Peace and Socialism" took place from 4-6 December 1984 in Prague which was attended by delegations representing numerous parties.

The RCP was represented by Ion Stoian, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee. On this occasion, the report of the Editorial and Board on the activity of the review during the period of November 1981-November 1984 was discussed. The participants in the discussion examined the activity of the review and made concrete remarks and proposals aimed at constantly improving this publication. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Dec 84 p 4 AU]

CEAUSESCU MESSAGE TO BATMONH--To Comrade Jambyn Batmonh, secretary general of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, Ulaan Batar: On the occasion of your election to the high office as chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, I take particular pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of the Romanian people and on my own behalf, warm greetings and cordial wishes for good health and personal happiness and wishes for success in your activity devoted to the progress and prosperity of the friendly Mongolian people. I wish to express by deep belief that the Romanian-Mongolian relations of close friendship and cooperation will further develop and expand for the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of the socialist construction in the two countries, the general cause of peace, understanding, and cooperation throughout the world. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Dec 84 p 5 AU]

DASCALESCU CALBES MONGOLIA'S SODNOM--Comrade Constandin Dascalescu, prime minister of the SR of Romania Government, sent a cable to Comrade Dumaagiyn Sodnom, extending warm greetings and best wishes for success on the occasion of his being elected to the high office of chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romania 16 Dec 84 p 5 AU]

IRAN AMBASSADOR--At the end of his mission in our country, the ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ahmad Ajallooeian gave a reception on Monday, 19 November. It was attended by members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, representatives of other ministries and central institutions, and men of letters. Also attending were heads of diplomatic missions in our country and members of the diplomatic corps. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Nov 84 p 9 AU]

MONGOLIAN RECEPTION--Bucharest AGERPRES 27 November 1984--Marking the 60th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Republic, Togoochiyn Genden, that country's ambassador in Bucharest, gave a cocktail party on Tuesday [20 November]. Ilie Verdet, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, Ludovic Fazekas, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, deputy prime minister, ministers, representatives of central institutes, mass and public organizations, of the Romanian-Mongolia Friendship Association, artists and men of letters attended. Participating were also diplomatic heads of mission accredited to Bucharest and members of the diplomatic Corps. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2008 GMT 27 Nov 84 AU]

DEPARTING IRANIAN AMBASSADOR RECEIVED--Bucharest AGERPRES 6 December 1984--President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania received on 6 December Ahmad Ajallooeian, ambassador of Iran in Bucharest, who paid a farewell call on ending his mission to Romania. The talk on the occasion proceeded in a cordial atmosphere. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1503 GMT 6 Dec 84]

PRC YOUTH DELEGATION--Bucharest AGERPRES 7 December 1984--Nicu Ceausescu, alternate member of the [Political Executive Committee] CC of the RCP, first secretary of the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth], received in Bucharest a delegation of the Communist Youth League of China, led by Jia Die, head of the international section of the league's CC. During the interview, aspects were approached relating to the manysided development of collaboration between the two countries' youth organizations, in the spirit of and based on the fine relations extant between the Romanian Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party. A wide-ranging exchange of information took place on the occasion regarding current aspects of the international life, underscoring the need for the young generation's active involvement in debating and solving the major problems of the present-day world. Emphasis was placed on the two organizations' preoccupations for the appropriate preparation of the events that will take place next year at a national, regional and international level for the observance of the International Youth Year "participation-development-peace." [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 7 Dec 84]

BALKAN YOUTH MEETINGS--Bucharest AGERPRES 7 December 1984--On 7 December proceedings of a meeting of Balkan youth and students concluded in Bucharest. Representatives of the National Committees for the IYY [International Youth Year], of youth and student organizations and of other youth-related bodies of Bulgaria, the Hellenic Republic, Yugoslavia and Romania participated. The interview proceeded in the context of the preparations for the International Youth Year and approached aspects related to the role and contribution of the young generation to the economic and social development, to turning the Balkans into a zone of peace, understanding and collaboration among peoples. The participants were received at Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and had interviews with youth and students of Bucharest. A pictorial exhibition was organized on aspects in the life and activity of the youth and students of the participant countries. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1845 GMT 7 Dec 84 AU]

ZIMBABWE YOUTH DELEGATION--Bucharest AGERPRES 8 December 1984--Nicu Ceausescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth] received on 7 December a ZANU [Zimbabwe African National Union] youth delegation led by John Madzinga, national secretary of that organization. Opinions and experience were exchanged on the occasion regarding the two organizations' activity as well as the participation of the youths in the two countries in preparation and observance of the International Youth Year. Both sides expressed their willingness to deepen and diversify collaboration between youth organizations in Romania and Zimbabwe as a specific contribution to strengthening friendly and cooperative ties between the two countries and peoples. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0945 GMT 8 Dec 84 AU]

TUNISIAN YOUTH LEADER--Bucharest AGERPRES 8 December 1984--Aspects related to the many-sided development of collaboration between youth organizations in Romania and Tunisia were approached in Bucharest during the call on Nicu Ceausescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth] by Ali Kharouby [spelling as received], assistant secretary-general of the Tunisian Union of Youth Organizations (UTOJ). Opinions and information were exchanged on current questions of the international youth and students movement, with emphasis on the concerns of the UCY and the UTOJ for the appropriate preparation of actions to mark the International Youth Year. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0947 GMT 8 Dec 84 AU]

ATHENS DENUCLEARIZATION FORUM--Athens AGERPRES 11 December 1984--Taking the floor during the proceedings of the International Conference for the Denuclearization of Europe venue by Athens, the Romanian representative showed that this country states [as received] for the removal of medium-range missiles and of all nuclear weapons from Europe. Moreover, he pointed out that within the efforts deployed to build security and achieve disarmament in Europe, Romania assesses that a major role is played by developing cooperation, enhancing confidence in the Balkans, achieving a climate of understanding and good neighbourliness in relations among the peoples of the area and by turning the Balkans into a region free of nuclear weapons and foreign military bases. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1736 GMT 11 Dec 84 AU]

PCE LEADER IN MADRID--Madrid AGERPRES 17 December 1984--On behalf of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu the secretary general of the Spanish Communist Party Gerardo Iglesias was conveyed a friendly salute, wishes of good health and success. Thanking, Gerardo Iglesias asked that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed a warm salute and best wishes of good health and happiness and new successes in the activity he carried out at the head of the RCP and Romanian state. The exchange of messages was occasioned by the call paid by Iosif Banc, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, on Gerardo Iglesias. During the talks the sides informed each other of the activity of the two parties and expressed the wish to further develop the relations between the RCP and the SCP. They also discussed aspects of the international situation. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1940 GMT 17 Dec 84 AU]

SAN MARINO SOCIALIST LEADER--San Marino AGREPRES 18 December 1984--On behalf of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, Antonio Volpinari, general secretary of the Socialist Party of San Marino, was conveyed a cordial salute and best wishes as well as warm congratulations on his reelection as general secretary of the Socialist Party of San Marino. Thanking, the general secretary of the Socialist Party of San Marino asked that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed a warm salute and best wishes alongside the wish to develop further the friendly relations between the two parties. The exchange of messages was occasioned by the call paid on Antonio Volpinari by Ion Catrinescu, member of the CC of the RCP, who represented the RCP at the congress of the Socialist Party of San Marino. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 18 Dec 84 AU]

TRADE UNION PLENUM--Bucharest AGERPRES 19 December 1984--On 19 December, a plenary meeting of the GTUCR [General Union of Romanian Trade Unions] Central Council took place which debated the tasks incumbent on TU bodies and organizations in the implementation of the resolutions endorsed by the 13th RCP Congress, of the plan for the country's socioeconomic development in 1985, as well as the report on the foreign activity in 1984 and the paramount targets for 1985. At the close of the plenum Ion Radu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, addressed the audience. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1953 GMT 19 Dec 84 AU]

IRAQI YOUTH DELEGATION--Bucharest, AGERPRES 5 December 1984--Nicu Ceausescu, first secretary of the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth], minister for youth affairs, chairman of the Romanian National Committee for International Youth Year, received an Iraqi youth delegation led by Abdul Razak Abaas [spelling as received], leading member of the National Youth and Students Union of Iraq, as well as Louai Mohammed Yihga [spelling as received], chairman of the Iraqi National Committee for the International Youth Year, representative of the Ministry of Youth of Iraq, who attended the "Youth and Development" international seminar in Brasov. Opinions and experience were exchanged on the occasion regarding youth's participation in the preparation and marking of the international youth year at a national and international level. Both sides expressed their willingness to deepen and diversify collaboration between the youth and students organizations in Romania and Iraq as a contribution to strengthening relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0830 GMT 5 Dec 84 AU]

TRADE AGREEMENT WITH CUBA--Bucharest AGERPRES 30 November 1984--Constantin Stanca, Romanian deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and Miguel A. Castillo, Cuban deputy minister of foreign trade, signed a protocol in Bucharest on 30 November, regarding the two countries' goods exchanges in 1985. The document provides for the further development and diversification of mutual goods deliveries between Romania and Cuba. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2000 GMT 30 Nov 84 AU]

CULTURAL AGREEMENT WITH DPRK--Bucharest AGERPRES 29 November 1984--A programme was signed in Bucharest on 29 November, aimed at the implementation of the cultural collaboration accord between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, over 1984-1986. The document, signed by Traian Pop, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Cho Yong-Kuk, ambassador of the DPR of Korea in Bucharest, provides for the implementation of collaboration projects in science, culture, the media, aimed at contributing to a better mutual knowledge and to the mansided development of Romanian-Korean relations. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1916 GMT 29 Nov 84 AU]



AIRING OF MIRIC VIEWS, REBUTTALS, SEEN AS DEMOCRATIC

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 6 Nov 84 p 44

[Article by Nenad Ivankovic: "In the Name of Dialogue"]

[Text] Every published work (and all public speech) should be judged critically and in a democratic atmosphere.

Miric's analysis of the constitutional and political system in Yugoslavia, as presented in 14 installments in BORBA (from his yet unpublished book "The System and the Crisis,") has stirred up quite a bit of political dust and, of course, aroused so much public interest that last week, in one way or another, it was the "hit" of our political press. Naturally, it was accompanied by the oft repeated refrain, "Is Yugoslavia a confederation?" In the entire process virtually no assessment was made of what the Zagreb professor was supporting in BORBA. For the most part (there were honorable exceptions), all discussion somehow amounted to a recounting of his theses and viewpoints. But for this reason, not without a particular political intention, there was a very meticulous enumeration and survey of all opinions which in one way or another relate to Miric's specific (radical) viewpoints. Similarly, not without a certain political logic, all the viewpoints not in agreement with this "calling of the roll and condemnation, without any argumentation" were contrasted with them.

From Ideas to People

Hence, at least thus far, the discussion has been largely transferred to another area, that of the question of the criteria of democratic criticism (or dispute) in Yugoslavia. The basic fault found (by journalists and political figures) with Miric's critics, who also are chiefly journalistic and political figures, is that their positions and evaluations are not presented in a well-reasoned manner, that their criticism is not scientifically substantiated, analytically elaborated, and the like. In short, that it is not democratic, and accordingly not suited to the fundamental intentions of this society. This is a "style" which, it seems should not be accepted, since it amounts to "passing judgment," to a "pose which we are not bound to maintain."

To make this somehow even clearer, it is pointed out that Jovan Miric is a genuine scientific worker, a person who has undertaken a well-reasoned analysis of our constitutional and political system, and so it is proper and right for his critics, if they do not want to be labeled servants of a "republican or provincial bureaucracy," to adhere to such criteria themselves.

Of course, no reasonable person should have anything against well-reasoned and democratic discussion. Moreover, in our country this in a way is a categorical imperative, especially since we have very few democratic customs and the transition is very easily made from ideas to people, from arguments to labels, from dialogue to monologue. But it is not wise to go to the other extreme and dispute the right to speak of every person not having credentials attesting to his "ability to engage in scientific analysis." After all, every published work, regardless of whether it is sociological, philosophical, or political or a book of another nature, should be judged critically and in a democratic atmosphere, and thus by no means from a particular standpoint, say merely from a scientific or merely from a political viewpoint. This would lead to a kind of pragmatic elitism having little in common with true democracy. Hence no methodological or other uniformity should be required, since the speech (and interests) of political criticism are different from the scientific, and newspaper criticism differs, for example, from that of magazines. What is important is that all three voices be heard, that everyone be able to state his own judgment. If everything in Yugoslavia is to see the light of day that has to do with the national and social good (without any sort of advance exclusivist arbitration), we should not deny the right of persons who want to express their opinions about it and we should not immediately disqualify them (and that in the name of democracy).

Consequently, if Miric had occasion to subject the 1974 Constitution to critical examination in almost 100 pages of text in BORBA, and if he was able to rate it with respect to other documents of the second AVNOJ [Antifascist National Liberation Council of Yugoslavia] session as a pronounced "rejection of a confederation," designating it as the cause of all current socioeconomic difficulties and troubles in our country, we see no reason why politics and the press should not express their opinions, and why at the same time we should not demand that they base their judgment on a new treatise such as one on "the system and the crisis."

Of course, it is necessary to include scientific criticism as well in the dispute, but to expect it alone to be the only relevant spokesman, and in the name of democracy at that, would be really absurd.

Nor should we demand that journalistic and political criticism immediately state their explicit positions. What we should expect from them is that they do not transform their implicit criticism into political anathemas, not disqualify people, and not transform good intentions into bad and hostile ones. Consequently, what is most important is for them not to make their word the last word, for them not to cut off dialogue after a summary process (especially when it is a matter of questions of common interest to

this country and this system). Lastly, implicit journalistic and political criticism of this kind (that is, criticism without exclusive right to it) is not alien to a single democratic society.

Consequently, if someone says (and people do say) "in his writings Jovan Miric offers us a unitary concept of Yugoslavia, and we do not react to such theses," it would not be good to silence such a person, and at that in the name of a democratic dialogue, at least as long as he does not intend to transform his thought into something more than opinion. Lastly, no one curtailed the right of Jovan Miric to express his theses in public, and so his direct and indirect "defenders" should not do so (directly or indirectly) to others, especially since matters of vital concern to all of us are involved.

We otherwise may come away with a bitter taste left by democracy which, so it might turn out in this case, presents itself as freedom only for some positions and ideas but not for others, particularly in the guise of the conception that "what is at work today is not unitarism but bureaucratic polycentrism, and consequently heightening of the danger of unitarism is to be found most often today in the service of republican and provincial bureaucracy, which wishes in this way to shift the center of gravity of political struggle so to speak to an immaterial sphere."

Is the unitarist alternative in Yugoslavia really only a chimera, or is it a potential reality which has quite visible living protagonists of its own, exactly like bureaucratic polycentrism?

6115

CSO: 2800/95

BELGRADE PROFESSOR DISCUSSES NEED FOR MORE DEMOCRACY

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17-18 Nov 84 p 9

[Interview with Dr Predrag Radenovic, professor of sociology at the University of Belgrade, by Bosko Grbic: "When Marx Is Not To Blame"; date and place not specified]

[Text] "I would like to speak about doctrinaire mistakes we have fallen into in the course of time or those from the past which we never freed ourselves of. Of course, many of these errors were also the result of our insufficient power and ability to provide answers to the problems and questions in development of contemporary society.

"It forever seems to me that one of our major mistakes in being doctrinaire was the illusion that it was possible to build socialism without freedoms and democracy. Even though in our theoretical views we emphasized that there was no democracy without socialism, nor socialism without democracy, a specific social state was nevertheless created and developed for years which I would say has been shaped at the expense of democracy. And now, of course, it turns out that there is not and cannot be any social advance without democracy."

This was how the interview was begun by Dr Predrag Radenovic, professor of sociology at the University of Belgrade, whose books include "Uvod u marksizam" [Introduction of Marxism], "Samoupravljanje--moc i iskusenja" [Self-Management--Strength and Adversities], "Ideologija i udruženi rad" [Ideology and Associated Labor], "Elementi sociologije" [The Elements of Psychology], and he is also the editor and author of the anthologies "Marksizam i samoupravljanje" [Marxism and Self-Management] and "Sociologija rada" [Industrial Sociology].

Our Errors

In answer to the first question, which was "In the current political debates, including those about the Proposal of Conclusions of the 13th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee, reflections have been absent about the global questions of social development and that of self-management (the questions of economic development, the functioning of the political system, completion of its construction and changes, and the like), which confines us still to the 'charmed circle' of internal contradictions. What reflections are actually indispensable if we are to be able at all to undertake effective social action,

beginning with carrying out the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program in order to overcome the ever deeper crises we have fallen into?" Professor Radenovic went on:

[Answer] Why do I put it that way intentionally? Because after 40 years of the revolution a crisis of the legitimacy of power has occurred in socialism. Whereas previously socialism was legitimated by the fact of the revolution, which cannot be inherited in perpetuum in history--today the crisis of legitimacy is manifested in the crisis and corrosion of the democratic achievements. Democracy is the only true way of winning people over to the cause of socialist development. But democracy is not only a matter of the "superstructure" and political system. It is, and this is often forgotten in our country, a form of government and the optimum prime mover of development of the productive forces and of optimalization of economic decisionmaking in self-management. In a society in which democracy is equated with anarchy (!?) it then turns out that we have fallen into difficulties because of having granted so much democracy. But there is nothing more erroneous than that. Only more democracy and self-management can extricate us from our present situation.

Socialism has not solved the question of democracy after more than half a century. There are many prejudices in this respect. One, perhaps the most important, is that socialism cannot be achieved on the basis of that line of the content of democracy which legitimizes freedoms and the rights of man as a citizen to shape and influence the present manner in which society is governed. But it turns out that a socialist society cannot be governed democratically without a continuation of the bourgeois achievements of democracy.

This further implies that there is no socialist or self-management democracy without acceptance of all those contents of democracy which were won not only by the bourgeois class, but indeed by the people itself in the struggle against feudal absolutism, if we look at this historically. That level of democracy as an element of civilization is a prerequisite of democracy in general, including socialist democracy. In every other case we are dealing with the pretension that a house can be built without a foundation!

Nor is it true that democracy offers an opportunity to those who want to fight against socialism, as is emphasized in our country or as certain "Marxists" think. I hold that democracy rather makes it possible for those who are in favor of socialism to make themselves felt. Democracy is a system, a form of government, but also a social atmosphere for a favorable sense of the spirit and creativity.

Finally, if socialism has been successful in 1917 without democracy in the form of parliamentary democracy, this does not mean that it can continue to progress without democracy as such. A change of outlook in this respect would signify a victory for the cause of socialism today.

Another error which we must free ourselves of is the notion that devising a system with as many pieces of socialist ornamentation as possible is sufficient for socialism to be victorious. In that respect we have to extricate ourselves from the doctrinairism which has replaced life with sacred

"principles" of dogma; the ideas of socialism with a socialism of ideas. That approach has led to the normativistic patterns of thought which have shaped the system. The system was "socialist" and all efforts were bent toward our striding into it once and for all! I do not know if there is anyone today who could explain how it is that a system so good has been unable to function?

The third error has to do with the postulation of social property in a way that does not square with economics. Have we not heard countless times that property in our country is not property?! Economists who took the responsibility for the Stabilization Program have called attention to the need for a charge for the use of social resources regardless of the constitutional-political cloak in which they are "wrapped" by their social attribute. The consequences go beyond reckoning. Production has "slipped" in a socialization which did not have a material underpinning. People have worked less and less since they are in a socialist system. It went on that way for years until we were brought up sharply by this and all the other illusions we have had.

Now we are beginning to understand many things which previously we did not understand or did not wish to. This process of becoming aware is slow, but it is still taking place. It is paradoxical, however, that it has made progress as a function of the growth of our difficulties. I think that unfortunately this was the only way for us to reach awareness.

#### Science and Self-Management

[Question] We are not satisfied with the status of science in our country. People in science and politicians and "responsible officials" in various institutions and many others have been quite calmly repeating that fatal observation for years. Judging by how much we are investing in science and research work and the concern we show about young scientists, and the kind of curricula we have in Marxist education and so on, society would seem to have been neglecting its own mind. But without that effort how is it possible to combat the errors you have been talking about?

[Answer] Every analysis of relations between science and self-management in general, but especially with respect to Yugoslav conditions, can proceed from the following basic premises. First, the concept of science cannot be taken and exploited solely in its elitist meaning ("science is a methodological search for pure truth" or "science is a theoretical research which has no practical implication"), but rather science must be understood in its pragmatic meaning ("science is an effective method of resolving social crises" or "a practical orientation is an inherent characteristic of science"). Only in that sense can one speak about science as a "productive force" and only in that way can it contribute to the creative channeling and resolution of social developments. At the same time, I do not reserve that meaning for the concept of science for a strictly professional and guild discipline, but I am thinking of the "body of all sciences" regardless of their formal classification.

Second, I use the concept of self-management as a critical category which should constantly indicate the tension between the empirical and normative dimensions of its meaning. This kind of approach to the concept of self-management will make it possible for us to objectively examine the actual state of

self-management, but also for us to critically evaluate the areas of its possible crisis, mistaken application, and indeed even let me point to those aspects which have not yet developed, have not been sufficiently developed, applied and realized. I believe that self-management is not merely a static and fixed empirical state, but it is also an ideal and a program for which a more humane socialist society (the Yugoslav society) must constantly fight and in historical terms must gradually bring about through struggle.

For these reasons it is legitimate to put the question of what the role of science is in the realization of self-management and especially what its function and power are in overcoming momentary lapses and crises in self-management? Two preliminary remarks have to be made in an attempt to sketch possible ways of answering this question. First, science does not stand in a simple one-to-one relationship to self-management, which at the moment we define in conventional terms as a system of specific social relations. This means that it does not necessarily follow, at least logically, but not empirically either, that a crisis of self-management leads directly to a crisis in science, and the other way about. Science is something more and something less than the social fact of a self-management system. And then, science does not stand in a simple relationship of exclusion to self-management. This means that a noticeable social crisis in self-management is necessarily present in science as well as its internal and inherent difficulty and limitation. At the same time, this means that science is vital and capable of offering models and projects with its instruments for resolving that momentary crisis. A crisis of self-management is, it is true, projected in science, but it never altogether overlays it, and this is the opportunity for science to intervene in overcoming the difficulties that exist on the road toward permanent realization of the ideal of self-management. Strain and crisis between the reality and ideal of self-management can and must become the subject of science itself and its inescapable destiny. I feel that the present system of self-management is characterized by an initial level of socialization of the process of production relations which is realized in the framework of the current level of development of associated labor in the context of self-management. Associated and self-managed labor could according to the conception (the programmatic commitments and the normative documents) be the core of an integral system of self-management and of social decisionmaking as a whole.

According to the ideal conception all social functions ought to come together in associated labor in the context of self-management, and out of it should come all social functions, the interactive relations which it creates and reproduces, indeed the complicated work process, and above all the age-old ideal of the workers: management of social reproduction as a whole from the micro-organization to the macrosociety. In social life this is always only an aspiration and a fond wish. The relations of commodity production unfortunately imply certain inequalities even in socialism, certain forms of so-called "socialist exploitation" and so on which can easily be discovered by critical analysis of the actual production relation in self-management. According to the proclaimed social position, the workers could for the first time have not only the declared, but also the actual possibility of influencing on the broadest scene of society all domains of life, and they would figure as essential factors in decisionmaking in various social institutions and organizations in which social policy is set forth, decided upon and guided.

## The "CP" Nature of the LC

[Question] That is how it has been proclaimed. But in reality?

[Answer] In view of the real state of the association of labor through self-management, one-sided illusions should be resolutely rejected concerning the actual state of self-management based on reference to normative analyses. An analysis of the state of self-management is more and more showing a tendency toward open collision between the workers and statism, technocracy and group ownership in decisionmaking on social reproduction. Tendencies of this kind have decisive importance to the present and future course of self-management and to realization of its ideals.

If one is to have an insight into the level of realization of the ideal of self-management, one must abandon the "scientific conception" which substitutes the normative for the real. And it is in fact the task of science to investigate the real level of realization of self-management (real freedom, direct democracy and real independent decisionmaking, actual discontinuation of any sort of exploitation regardless of by whom, etc.). In social reality itself a tendency has slowly taken shape over more than 30 years in the direction of achievement of the power of the working class and of all the working people. In opposition to that tendency there are also very powerful tendencies in social development which are essentially statist and opposed to self-management. That is, we are talking about the existence of very evident lapses, of obstacles, indeed even of serious social crises of certain institutions and organizations in the realization of the tendencies we have mentioned above. This is the consequence of aggravated social contradictions (in this stage of development of our society) as well as of serious assaults, the emphasized reassessment of the role of the state and reaffirmation of detached centers of technobureaucratic power and authority. One gets the impression of a social situation in which self-management is seriously threatened. Finally, there is the issue that the way the League of Communists is organized is not appropriate enough, and sometimes is in fact inappropriate.

[Question] This "finally" might also be "first of all." What are the problems which the League of Communists confronts today concerning its own self?

[Answer] I think that the League of Communists has still retained a form of organization which corresponds to the prerevolutionary posture of an "assault" on the institutions of the old society rather than an organization that would be suitable to postrevolutionary conditions. However much the League of Communists has altered the face of social reality in various stages, it has remained a kind of "conspirator" who is not adept at getting his bearings in the context of the new social conditions, which are giving significance to economics and technology. One gets the impression that our party is biased against economics.

Second, that shape of the party, with what some people call its continuing "CP" nature, also sometimes leaves the unfounded impression that it is always right. Since the leadership has the dominant strength in its functioning, we are now in a situation of proving one way or another whether the leadership is right or is to blame. That is not a good situation.



Since the role of the rank and file in formulation of party policy has been displaced, the League of Communists has in time begun to undergo transformation into a "smaller party" or the leadership. The leadership as the party--that is a real and present danger threatening the League of Communists. This was taken note of in the 13th Meeting of the Central Committee, but the question is to what extent the real membership will acquire that role of a creative factor? In any case, some people are already disassociating themselves from the rank and file and protecting themselves against it, saying that it may be that the leadership does not agree with the rank and file!? I can believe that the rank and file may not agree with the leadership, but the other way about--that is something all our own.

I am one of those who think that the victory of the working class party is not sufficient for the victory of socialism, and still less do I believe that socialism has triumphed thereby.

#### What Sort of Conceptions Do We Have

[Question] There is also talk about dissatisfaction with the state of Marxist science. What are the reasons that our Marxist thought does not have the importance which it should have in a self-managed socialist society?

[Answer] I would not speak about the dissatisfaction with the state of Marxist science. If that is the case, then we must speak about dissatisfaction with the state of society. To what extent is Marxism to blame for that state? Probably it is, but assuming that all our conceptions were Marxist. We cannot blame Marx because we ourselves did not get proper bearings in the social world. So long as socialism could promise more and produce less, Marxism was more attractive. Today we have come into a situation where people expect fewer promises and more reality. That is why earlier it was easier to think in Marxist terms. That has been the fate of every great idea whose realization has been difficult. I am not a proponent of the idea that the application of Marx automatically signifies socialism. We have conceived Marxism more as a question of the desire for socialism than as a theory about what the prerequisites are for the achievement of socialism. Yet from that point of view Marxism is still a relevant critical theory that has not been superseded.

Under our conditions we should bear in mind that Marx is more than all those conceptions and theoreticians so conceited as to believe that they are thinking and working as though sent from the "bearded master himself." Perhaps someone might even be creator of a system, but that still does not mean that he is in a collaboration with Marx. But it seems that some people, convinced of their infallibility, are filled with such sentiments. The Marxist conception of someone or something does not mean that that is also Marx's conception. In that respect modesty can be an important virtue.

Sometimes we have been a bit unfair toward the strength of our Marxist thought. Marxism in our country today is not just a matter of the official representatives of that theory. There are a great number of people in universities, institutions and centers which constitute an exceptional potential. They seem not to have access. Everything revolves around a few people.

Forgive me, please, but the question is what we want. If we want to rationalize the status quo, then you cannot do without such people. But if we want new ideas, new breakthroughs and critical thought, then we have to also think about "other opinions."

We still have not grasped that there are no investments in science which will prove to be too expensive. Science today is contributing so much that is good that its financial backing, though it may be very great, is not too expensive. Investments, of course, have to be systematic and one has to wait for them to "bear fruit." We are an impatient people. First we neglect science as to its finances, then we invest something in it and we immediately want to achieve everything effectively. When that does not immediately happen, we are, of course, ready to accuse science and the scientists in the well-known style: "So, that is what we thought."

Investment in domestic science is one of the best ways of our not being led by others and technologically colonized in the 21st century. Countries who experience that fate will be able to understand only later that that is the worst destiny which could have befallen them.

The condition of all conditions for the development of science is the freedom of science and the freedom for science. Science does not tolerate any sort of higher purposes. It is the highest or one of the highest human aims. Incidentally, were that not the case, man (or rather an anthropoid ape) would have remained a human possibility which was not realized.

[Question] Writings in the field of scientific journalism and "works" which critically treat "hot" political topics usually become the center of the public's attention, while serious and creative scientific work often remains in the shadow, left to the interest of small and specialized circles. Furthermore, instead of a coming together and closer association, we have separateness, even a scattering of scientific forces. The League of Communists (which, incidentally, cannot boast of having brought together the most able people in its most active ranks) cannot stand aloof in all of this: In what manner and with the help of what criteria does it "adopt" what is most progressive and creative, or "reject" what is conservative and sterile in our scientific thought?

[Answer] Good books are restless books. We might get mad at them, but somewhere in our heart we still love such books. Recently we have had good books even though we have been dealing them "bolts of lightning" with ideological charges. This means that something is happening in our country. So, that is very important.

Writings on hot political topics are a consequence of the situation in which so far boring books have been written in a boring way. Incidentally, no one got mad at such acts of "unculture," and now someone supposedly has the right to get mad at those writings which go beyond journalism and theoretical monotony only because they touch upon political topics. Some of those who think that way write new books in which they take a critical posture toward the "suspicious" books. There is nothing easier than to use a political platform

to launch one's own suitability and orthodoxy by contrast with "suspicious" authors. Such people are in any case well known. They have never in their lives done anything serious from the intellectual standpoint, but they are always the ones who render judgments.

I am an advocate of the "production" of books with a diversity of ideas. Let there be thousands of books of different views turned toward man. That clears the intellectual atmosphere, it separates, but it also brings together. Ideas have the force of unifying and of arousing strenuous new efforts. Incidentally, it is time for us to change our approaches to social problems. We should also nurture the production of politically interesting books. Who could have supposed that an interesting book could be written in our country about the constitution? Nevertheless, it has been written!

### The University Is Not an Enterprise

[Question] It is almost impossible to list by some "order of priority" the problems which the university faces today. Nevertheless, which are the most urgent?

[Answer] No one today believes that we should stick with the concept of the traditional university. The traditional university is no longer objectively possible. To be sure, there are recrudescences of its former splendor. But those are remnants.

However, I do not like the conception of some productivist university. Imagine, it is now being proposed in the reform of the university that the schools of the university become enterprises?! That is just incomprehensible. We do not have enterprises where they ought to exist, but we are making them where it is impossible for them to come into existence.

The university is an element of social production and reproduction, but the university is also one of the institutions in which a specific social process crystallizes as education and upbringing. We are not training personnel who will be able only to alter nature effectively and optimally, but we are also preparing individuals who have a semblance of humanism.

There is no reform of the university without deciding on the position of science in society. Only by changing that position will it be possible to reform the university. This is not related only to the demand for more money, but above all to the question of the university's purpose.

Let the reform of the university be less a concern for those intervening from outside and more the concern of the internal forces, which are not small. I believe that in one dimension the university must be or remain autonomous. But I know that it must share the fate of social metamorphoses. If it is not a "quality" institution, then optimalization will be lacking in society itself. The reform so far has made an essential "contribution" in only one aspect--that the university personnel we are getting are poorer and poorer. This raises the priority issue of the appropriate role of the LC. However, the problems of the LC at the university are the same as those in the LCY as a whole, although there are, of course, specific features.

The most serious problem in achieving the leading role of the LC at the university is the relatively low level of unity of party members in ideology and action. As a matter of fact, this is favored by the inappropriate way in which it is organized, which objectively ends up in disunity over political ideology. The ideological disunity is especially expressed in views of specific solutions for the self-management transformation of the university.

The differences are especially great in the conception of the socioeconomic position of workers at the university (the realization and distribution of income, distribution of resources for personal incomes), as well as in the conception of the very role and pattern of operation of the LC. That is, at the heart of the matter is the problem of public financing of the university as a part of overall social reproduction and as a vigorous productive force, but not as a matter of budget or parabudgetary financing of social expenditure, where the administration has the last word.

Differing choices concerning the key issues of self-management, the realization and distribution of income, and the role of the LC, and so on, are the reason why discussions of those issues are often evaded in basic organizations of the LC and why vague or insufficiently definite views are adopted, and also why specific positions are not implemented when they are adopted. This makes debate and specific action the one thing that is most vital as a prerequisite of unity.

That situation cannot be overcome if the basic organizations of the LC are isolated in their activity. Joint actions are necessary for party members to resolve the key problems of self-management at the university. And not just party members. There is a need for an overall initiative at the university in which the party members would try out their proposals and activity.

But There Is No Differentiation ...

[Question] Does that mean that at present, at the University of Belgrade in particular, that that initiative or action on the part of the League of Communists is lacking?

[Answer] By and large there are no such actions at present. The university commission operates in the forum style and the basic organizations of the LC have practically no influence on the positions which it adopts. But communication in the opposite direction is also poor. The basic organizations of the League of Communists are not familiarized with the views of the university committee and do not assume a commitment in carrying them out. We thus see a situation in which our party has been turned into the "forms of a forum."

The forum style of operation also has an impact on the relations between the LC and the other sociopolitical organizations. There are no organized initiatives on the part of party members in the Socialist Youth League or in the trade unions. On the contrary, the LC and the university committee specifically are cut off and do not make use of the large creative potential which exists at the university. That is one of the principal reasons why the LC has grown apart from the student organization and indeed even from the trade union

at the university. That is one of the reasons why the activity of those organizations is weak and is not oriented toward the development of self-management either as the basic production relation or as a social system. Instead of being still more active, after enrolling in the LC students often let their involvement lapse in the youth organization. This raises the question of the extent to which the motivational pattern of university students is influenced by the awareness that membership in the LC is helpful in gaining advantage, in achieving success in one's career.

Because the necessary action has not been undertaken and because democratic relations have not existed in the struggle to implement the constitution and the economic stabilization program, the political-ideological differentiation in the League of Communists has not been carried out either. People have gotten into the LC who represent differing ideological currents which are fighting for dominance. This is a complicated intellectual situation. Although self-management is in the interest of the majority and tends in that direction, the self-management forces have not won decisive superiority even in the League of Communists.

#### Propositions and Positions

[Question] This is a time when we need things to be cleared up and positions taken. Yet there is a great deal of opportunism, vacillation, and unscrupulousness of aggressive "polemics" not backed up with argument.... What sort of dialogue do we really need?

[Answer] As for the possibilities of dialogue in our country, I would say that all we have is a dialogue about dialogue. But even that is a fine thing that shows that we have made progress in some respect. There is talk about dialogue, and let it be for or against, there is still talk. There are fewer and fewer of those who "pull out a revolver" as soon as the word dialogue is mentioned.

I think that we should finally say and thereby expose the thing itself that those who are against dialogue in our country do not take that position on the basis of some sort of principles, but because they are afraid of a dialogue. That is understandable. Just imagine that someone has for decades been holding rallies, and now you hit him with the proposition of a dialogue, he must see this as his own destruction, not only of his "mind," but also of his position. Such a person has in any case lost the characteristics and abilities necessary for dialogue. In him dialogue does not even exist as an internal possibility.

Dialogue is possible only between those who love the truth and for the sake of society, not only for the sake of themselves. There are those who enjoy dialogue only as a struggle of their own, fighting for their "own point" and "their own truth." But there are not so many of those. Dialogue is a way in which we can socialize the search for solutions and ways of getting out of the crisis, for us to get beyond the state of "those dedicated" to truth and socialism, of freeing ourselves of gratitude to those who have "monistically" guided us and brought us to the situation we are now in. Finally, dialogue is

also a way for society to feel itself the creator of its own pathways of development as against those who have fallen in love with their own mind by contrast with the mind of society.

Dialogue is possible only between varied and differing positions. There is no dialogue between "one and the same thing." That is a monologue. And sometimes a monologue ends up in authoritarian political relations. The only essential thing is whether we are ready and capable of distinguishing through dialogues, and not with name-calling, what is humanistic and proper to self-management, and what is unhumanistic and antiself-management.

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